

# Maclean's

RUSSIA'S  
BORIS YELTSIN:  
UP CLOSE

# TERROR IN THE STREETS

**YOUNG ASIAN  
GANGS ARE  
SPREADING FEAR,  
VIOLENCE—AND  
DEATH—IN  
CANADIAN CITIES**





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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 31, 1991 VOL. 134 NO. 12

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## COVER

### TERROR IN THE STREETS

Young, ruthless Vietnamese and Chinese gangsters are pursuing their criminal ambitions and deadly turf wars with a ferocity that is establishing a new threshold of violence in Canada's cities. Their activities range from armed robbery and extortion to prostitution and heroin trafficking. Asian communities are calling for more protection, but police are struggling to keep the gangs in check. — 16



## WORLD

### WAR OF THE PRESIDENTS

Mass demonstrations in 23 cities emphasized that, despite the ritual of Sunday's unity referendum, open antagonism is a growing factor in Soviet politics. They also showed huge support for Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian republic, who has a crucial role in the developing political drama. — 34



## BUSINESS

### PHONE FIGHT

The CRTC is studying applications from two companies that want to end Bell Canada's 117-year-old long-distance telephone monopoly. Business leaders fear the step. But consumer advocates say that it could mean higher local rates and less reliable service for residential customers. — 48





## LETTERS

### BUSH'S MEDIA WAR

Now that the Gulf War is over, it is time to reassess the behavior of President George Bush ("Coping with It," WorldCover, March 13). The news media, including your magazine, gave the distinct impression that if one spoke out against Bush's manipulation of the United Nations to set his agenda to destroy Iraq, one was against Canadian soldiers fighting in the Gulf. That was a type of blackmail. Bush deliberately misused the military power of Iraq to justify dehumanization. This was to great victory for the allies, and should be viewed as an embarrassment. It was nothing short of a con job by Bush, and the celebration of his perfidy was the greatest sin. Canada cannot be proud of participating in this massacre.

Christopher Palmer,  
Windsor



Bush: 'manipulation of the UN'

### A WAR BY ANY OTHER NAME

Soldiers' families have lost and his mother of all battles has turned out to be just another bloody massacre. However, there will be another loser in this war: World War. The media folk have really done it this time. Not only has your news reporting been biased, it has also been wrong. First you said there would be no war. Wrong. Then you said it would be a long war. Wrong. You said the lesson of Vietnam was that no power could win a war. Wrong. You bought Bush's story that Americans would win in a war of their own blood. Wrong. Allied casualties will be the lowest ever seen in a major war. Why were you so consistently wrong? You had to make the war and you misled the facts to generate that image. So much for truth. We shall have a new enemy. The last casualty of war is the media. For one, that makes it almost worthwhile. Why? Because the media have become the greatest threat to the democratic process now existent. They fall from grace as readily when we need to save the system.

Thomas F. Miller,  
Pittsford

### THE WRONG REPORT

Please let me correct an inaccurate statement in Peter C. Newman's March 4 Business Watch ("Wilson's vote struggle with a killer debt?"). Newman quoted from a report that was corrected shortly after his column appeared. The C. D. Howe Institute had indicated that Veterans Affairs spent \$410 million to deliver \$13.3 billion in pensions and allowances. The report was wrong, and the institute published an erratum online on Feb. 22. The letter to the Veterans Affairs Canada spends just less than 50 per cent on administration, and the same source of pride to our employees and to regret!

Gerald S. Morvillo,  
Minister of Veterans Affairs,  
Ottawa

radicals" of the enemy certainly has to be better than our method. The duty of the Germans and us was to tear holes in each other's bodies so that blood ran out and we died. It was called killing. We did an awful lot of it. I do not know the details of this degradation craft, but I imagine ballistics would be used for one thing, to shoot degenerating tanks at one another such as "Four nuclear warheads blown" ("Devastation" instead of "bombs") sounds pretty good, too. It was about time war was cleaned up and become more a part of TV programming and commercial time slots.

John Kaganoff,  
Parsippany, Out

Rotherngram takes exception to the terminology used by many personnel to describe the Gulf War. Is this the same Rotherngram who, in his Feb. 11 column ("Too cold for even a 'technical country'"), wrote that a person went to an encyclopedia ("a background book"), and then went on to use the phrase "I'll write him . . ." Perhaps Dr. Roth is the one who should revert to the English language.

Charles Crawford,  
Victoria, Out

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, address and telephone number. Mail addresses should be given in the Editor's Mailbox magazine. Writers should include their full name, address and telephone number. Send letters to: Editor, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**APPOINTED:** An artistic director and principal conductor of the National Arts Centre Orchestra (NACO) in Ottawa, British conductor and harpsichordist Trevor Pinnock, 41, Pinnock, who studied at London's Royal College of Music, is one of the most popular artists on the Deutsche Grammophon classical record label, with more than 60 recordings to his credit, and playing with the baroque group The English Concert. Pinnock has appeared as guest conductor with orchestras in North America, Europe and Japan, including the NACO and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra. Pinnock called the label "an orchestra of international recording," with which he "enjoyed a fine working relationship."



DAVID HARRIS

**MARRIED:** Barbara Dodd, 24, and long-time boyfriend Gregory Murphy, 25, Dodd, a former exotic dancer, had a highly publicized shortstop in July 1991, after an Ontario Court of Appeal overruled an injunction sought by Murphy, who said that he was the father. One week later, Dodd announced that she had joined the anti-abortion movement and accused pro-choice groups of pressuring her to abort. Dodd, married, was Kenneth Campbell, the founder of the anti-abortion group Choice Life Canada, affiliated at the ceremony.

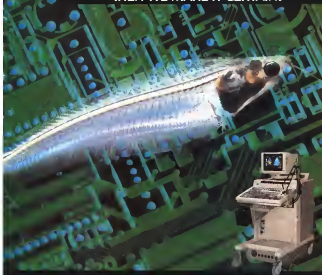
**DEID:** Jazz cornettist Jimmy McPherson, 62, of long career, in his home on Long Island, N.Y. McPherson was one of the leaders of the electric Chicago style of jazz. In the late 1920s, he became famous with Ben Pollack's band, which included

Glenn Miller and Benny Goodman, formed a quartet with his partner wife, Marian, in the 1940s, and was still performing in his 70s.

**DEID:** Journalist Ed Ogle, 54, on March 7 at Vancouver, after suffering from Parkinson's disease since his early 60s. Born in Star City, Ind., Ogle became a prominent reporter in Western and Northern Canada for Time magazine and also served as bureau chief in the region.

**RETURNING:** As chief executive officer of the Washington Post Co., Katharine Graham, 78, 80, Donald Graham, 45, well known as her. He will remain as publisher of the Post newspaper while overseeing the entire company, which also owns Newsweek and four TV stations.

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<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Quantity</th> <th>Price</th> <th>Total</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>\$300 Gold Coin</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$240.00</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Proof Set</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$60.00</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Seapiece Set</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$17.50</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Commemorative Set</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$2.50</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Proof Dollar</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$25.00</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Unfilled Individualized Order</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$15.75</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Shipping &amp; Handling</td> <td>_____</td> <td>\$4.00</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Subtotal (1)</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Calculate 7% GST on Subtotal (1)</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Subtotal (2)</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Calculate PST on subtotal (2) for Ontario and West of Ontario</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>or subtotal (2) for Quebec, New Brunswick &amp; Atlantic</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Quantity	Price	Total	\$300 Gold Coin	_____	\$240.00	_____	Proof Set	_____	\$60.00	_____	Seapiece Set	_____	\$17.50	_____	Commemorative Set	_____	\$2.50	_____	Proof Dollar	_____	\$25.00	_____	Unfilled Individualized Order	_____	\$15.75	_____	Shipping & Handling	_____	\$4.00	_____	Subtotal (1)	_____	_____	_____	Calculate 7% GST on Subtotal (1)	_____	_____	_____	Subtotal (2)	_____	_____	_____	Calculate PST on subtotal (2) for Ontario and West of Ontario	_____	_____	_____	or subtotal (2) for Quebec, New Brunswick & Atlantic	_____	_____	_____	Total	_____	_____	_____	<p>Order to: <b>Royal Canadian Mint</b> P.O. Box 440 - Station A Ottawa, Ontario K2H 8N6</p> <p><b>Notice:</b> The Mint ships silver in sealed containers in opaque plastic bags. Silver plated silverware or costume jewellery cases if returned within 30 days; shall not accept any cancellations, replacements or exchanges.</p> <p>The Mint is not liable for any foreign buyers.</p> <p>Valid in Canada only.</p>
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# OPENING NOTES

Margaret Thatcher re-enters the fray, Soviets corner a porn market, and Charles Lynch makes a friend

## THIRD DEGREE

British Columbia's new finance minister, Elwood Veltho, says that his business administration degree from Columbia Pacific University in San Rafael, Calif., comes from "one of the best nonaccredited schools in North America." But Bruce Hardert, legislative director of California's Postsecondary Education Commission, says that it is a "nonaccredited" correspondence school. Although legal in California, all unaccredited institutions, including Columbia Pacific, have come under increasing scrutiny by state officials because of some schools' less-than-greating policies. Veltho, for his part, admits that his degree would probably not be recognized by Canadian universities. But the finance minister, who is a certified general accountant, says that his Columbia Pacific MBA has no bearing on his new post. Veltho, a longtime supporter of B.C. Premier William Vauder Zalm, told reporters "I'm one of the most qualified ministers in government. You keep your eyes open, see how well I do." Time will tell.

Vauder Zalm, Veltho: degree from a 'nonaccredited' school



## The return of the Iron Lady

During her last 100 days out of office, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher reassured uncharacteristically at last. But she now appears ready to re-enter the political fray again. Indeed, Thatcher, who recently received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest civilian award, has taken solid steps towards that goal. She already has agreed to be the honorary president of the Way Forward, a group of Conservative MPs dedicated to free-market principles, to be launched this week. And at a meeting of her constituents earlier this month in north London, Thatcher made it clear that she sees herself as much more than a backbench driver. "I think it would be silly going for the Conservative party to

have a senior union relationship," she said. "Especially a mistress." The Iron Lady stands to conquer.



Thatcher: 'a mistress' leads her advance

## THE BUSINESS OF GENDER

The reaction to a recent full-page ad for *Business Week* magazine that appeared in The New York Times was swift and angry. The ad described the magazine as "a silent partner (with summaries) everything you need to know about business world-wide," and then added: "Even though your partner is silent, everybody has heard of him. His name is *Business Week*." The outcry from the magazine's editorial staff was quick and effective. The ad ran only once. *Business Week* editor-in-chief Stephen Sheppard: "Everyone agrees it was a mistake."

## The green in Soviet blue

At least one Soviet commodity has no problems commanding hard currency in Western Europe: pornography. First-generation pilots of Soviet-made tanks command as much as \$17,000 in Germany. Although President Mikhail Gorbachev frowns on them, the movies are a lifeline for underemployed actors. Said one director: "We offer them specific but well-paid jobs. No one blackmails or seduces them." But male leads are less willing than their female counterparts to rise to the occasion on-screen. As a result, male actors earn twice as much—sometimes up to \$143 a day. From Russia, with love.

## THE GULF WAR REVISITED

The end of Operation Desert Storm has unleashed a new current: armies of war-related products cashing in on the allied victory in the Gulf. Hollywood is already preparing at least two movies about the 43-day conflict. *Ramsey Shufeldt and David Shufeldt* which stars screen heartthrob Rob Lowe. On the home-video front, U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf takes center stage in *Schwarzkopf: How the War Was Won* and General H. Norman Schwarzkopf's *Command Performance*. As well, ABC, CBS and NBC are recapitulating their own news coverage of the war into video. And last month, Toy manufacturers



Lower: war film



Toy has introduced a board game called *A Line in the Sand*, in which about 100,000 light troops on a map of the Middle East. Said Toy sales director Engwald Rutherford: "It's a war game. It doesn't take any toys." But the biggest battle is in the lucrative videogame market. According to James Appell, a sales clerk at Egghead Discount Software in Richmond, B.C., the most promising games—*Palace 2.0*, *P3-174*, *Snake Fighter* and *Gunsby 2000*—all take place in the Middle East. Said Appell: "There's a lot of interest in these new games." They are, indeed, the spoils of war.

Palace 2.0: new videogames

## IN THE WAKE OF A GREAT ARTIST

Toronto artist Harold Town, who died in December, would have been thrilled, his old friends say, with plans to honor him at an exclusive party on March 23. A longtime friend of Town's, Iris Nowell, has arranged a \$500-a-head week for 100 of his former intimates. Guests will include former Pierre Berton, composer Harry Somers and Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton. There has been no public announcement of the tribute, but invitations ask guests to "like, honor Harold" in the *Ming Tombs* of Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum—a favorite haunt of his. Nowell was reluctant to elaborate. She said "Harold was a very private person." But according to the unusual invitation, guests will "Groove on a brunch of Harold's eclectic tastes" and "partake of champagne and eperons." One last night on the Town.

## Presidential nod

Brian Mulroney and George Bush were heavily into their limo at Ottawa's military airport last week when they



Lynch: Mulroney calling

climbed out again. And no one was more amazed than Ottawa's Ottawa columnist Charles Lynch, whose Mulroney introduced to Bush. Mulroney had said time that a recent Lynch column had compared Bush to Franklin Roosevelt. Said Lynch: "When the media are then getting out, they all came running because they thought one had been shot." Merely a meeting of minds.

## The top of the heap

The latest so-called network-marketing plan to enter Canada in its 50th anniversary year, a consumer marketing firm that began in Utah. In the United States, it attracted a former lawyer for the Massachusetts attorney general's office, Bud Corbin. Indeed, an article in the November issue of *Rosette Business* magazine says that Corbin left a \$200,000-a-year law practice to gamble on his idea. And Corbin has a close Canadian connection. His sister, Jane Corbin, a prominent Toronto photo gallery owner, is herself promoting distributions in Canada. So far, other well-known business people involved include Toronto restaurateur Yoni and Benjamin Dubois. Yet Dubois denies the products "fabulous," but she said that it was the promise of huge earnings that attracted her. Said Dubois: "That's why I joined." Gaudier pictures, clearer skin.

Corbin: the Canadian connection



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## ANOTHER VIEW



# A tip of the cap to the GST

BY CHARLES GORDON

**A**s this is being written, it is a bright, clear late-winter day. In the newspaper, the Forum-Golf cover begins on page 1, but below the fold. The top story is about child claims in British Columbia. There is nothing about the car and page 4, and even that's just a little business-interest story. Despite the absence of predictions, life is returning to normal.

People are beginning to ponder some of the other questions of life—such as why all Canadians between 53 and 56 wear baseball caps all the time throughout the winter.

If you are surprised by your thoughts turning to such matters as how the cars of those young Canadian males stay warm, you shouldn't be. Life has a way of returning to normal, especially in Canada, a place where the people don't let anything distract them from their accustomed patterns for long.

The war has more or less stopped being news. Even though Canadians were in the Gulf and did everything that was asked of them, it wasn't our war, and we know it. The Americans made the decisions, took the big risks, and we just sort of hoped for the best. The aftermath of the war belongs to the Americans; no American can keep in any of self-congratulatory long going for months, with story after story, news clip after news clip celebrating the glorious welcomes of returning heroes. We are more inclined to skip the yellow ribbons and let the Forum state house lose less conspicuously. We are more inclined, in other words, to a quiet return to normal. We are more inclined to let the war stop being news.

In the overall scheme of things, it wasn't our war and it wasn't our story. But the Goods and Services Tax is our story, and certainly is our tax. While the attention given to the war may fade, it is more surprising that the GST fades itself in obscurity. But it seems to be, on this bright late-winter day.

Perhaps we were distracted by the war and the war was a distraction. Or so it seemed, for a time. But something happened, the thing that always happens. People got used to the GST. They learned to live with it, if not to like it. The fact that people are used to it does not make it any less a bit less than it was in the beginning. It is just that the end of the world was predicted and the end of the world didn't happen.

With the end of the world now apparently a safe distance away, it is safe to ponder other

*With the end of  
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other matters*

Perhaps we were—and are—distracted by the recession. Whatever the explanation, it is a simple fact that the GST has not dominated our lives the way it was predicted it would.

You remember the predictions. When history would never recover from the imposition of the GST. Every time a Canadian bought something, the Canadian would be conscious of an extra seven per cent. Every time the Canadian was conscious of the extra seven per cent, the Canadian would curse the Conservative government. The government had doomed itself by passing the tax.

For a time, the predictions appeared to be right on the mark. In every store, with every transaction during the first couple of weeks of the tax, words were exchanged: the customer cursing about the GST, the clerk expressing sympathy. Or so it seemed, for a time.

But something happened, the thing that always happens. People got used to the GST. They learned to live with it, if not to like it. The fact that people are used to it does not make it any less a bit less than it was in the beginning. It is just that the end of the world was predicted and the end of the world didn't happen.

With the end of the world now apparently a safe distance away, it is safe to ponder other

matters. Who is it that decides that everybody should wear baseball caps? Did all the boys suddenly and spontaneously begin wearing them? Was there some season in which baseball caps were worn that changed the style of every high-school boy in the country? And why did we stop it?

It is important that we think about such things in order to save our sanity. If we think about the GST all the time, we will go mad. Most people understood that. Conservatives understood that. Passed each day to drive for an hour or more on a clogged expressway into a city that has no parking spaces, they can either curse that fact each day—or in which case they will go nuts—or else they can get used to it. It is a little harder drive, they would still prefer to be doing something else, but they accept what they are doing and save their anger for something that matters.

Instead of wondering why they get into the car each day, they can just do it, unconsciously and wonder instead about the hierarchy of baseball caps worn in high school. Is a baseball cap with the insignia of a baseball team better than a baseball cap with the insignia of a football team or the insignia of a beer or a truck? Is a hockey baseball cap better than a basketball baseball cap?

It is possible to live this way with the car—paying it more or less unconsciously, taking time out to ponder the weather or the present race, and still, if you must, remembering to vote against the government at the earliest opportunity. Lightening up, in other words, need not mean ignoring the important issues, only avoiding being obsessed by them.

Of course, you can be obsessed by the baseball-cap question too. When was it that baseball caps stopped being worn backwards? How do these young fellows avoid the common affliction known as bad hair? Or is that why they keep their hats on all the time?

Do they, in fact, keep their hats on all the time?

Such questions, or questions of similar depth are good ones to ask yourself when thoughts of the GST or the destruction of our national unity threaten to overcome you.

Signs that a national lightening up is possible are, gratefully, emerging. If you listen long enough, you can hear people beginning to talk about what happens after the recession is over. Cracks are beginning to appear in our wall of gloom, the one that separates those who want to save Canada from those who want to see it end, those who think Canada can survive and those who are certain it won't. In French Canada, individuals are beginning to appear, as English Canada optimists.

Although optimism is not like people, it is still possible that the entire country needs a breather, that the intensity and duration of the angry debate have worn us out. A return to normalcy may be in order, if we can only figure out what the reality is. Meanwhile, spring is on the way, the weather is warming up and the baseball caps may come off, now that it's baseball season.

Or perhaps they won't. It's worth thinking about anyway.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for The Ottawa Citizen.



# SAVORING VICTORIES

**PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH VISITS OTTAWA TO PRAISE A STAUNCH GULF WAR ALLY AND SIGN AN ACID-RAIN PACT**

The mayor from Washington, fresh from a resounding victory in a four-year war, had the highest popularity ratings in his country's history. His host, leader of a nation rocked by the forces of disaster and battling a succession of political opponents, had lost one-fifth of his support. But last week when President George Bush paid a 17-hour visit to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, it was largely a celebration of friendship and common cause rather than an exploration of political tensions. In fact, it was an Ottawa news conference, a high-spirited Malruay even asked about the "Nipponese" (a pun on Japan's name) "because of our close relationship, and because this is a special day," said Malruay. "I know that the President will want to visit his citizens with me. We can then, George, divide by two—and we both come out ahead."

However long Malruay stands in domestic politics, it was clear that his neighbor held him—and Canadians—in high esteem. The visit marked the beginning of the American President's first foreign trip since the Gulf War ended last month. And according to many U.S. political analysts, Bush demonstrated what University of Miami at Ontario political scientist Howard Cooley called "a good deal of confidence in his ally" by first traveling to Canada before meetings later in the week with French President Jacques Chirac and British Prime Minister John Major. In fact, the talks continued for beyond initial tribute as the two leaders signed an accord to limit and raise—an agreement that Canada has long sought. Along with

their partners, Bush and Malruay also discussed the possibility of peace in the Middle East, the political climate in the Soviet Union, Canadian energy, free trade—and a Feb. 8 call by Malruay for an international summit to control the proliferation of arms. Bush "seized" praise in Canada, saying that he had been continually in touch with Malruay ("I'm sure it seemed to him endlessly") during the Gulf crisis. He declared Bush "The American people, leave alone. Day 1 when Canada stood. We are very, very grateful for that." For his part, Malruay spoke of Bush's "wise, confident leadership" and he said "the name George Bush will live proudly in the history of free men and women."

On the issue of weapons sales to the troubled region, Bush, who has previously been critical of any reduction in arms sales, offered no endorsement of Malruay's proposal. "It is a little



early," he said. Added the U.S. President: "The car was what the proper structure is."

Apart from that slight note of caution—and the presence of a small crowd of anti-U.S. demonstrators—Bush's visit proceeded flawlessly. The signing of the weapons accord was the centerpiece of the visit. Canada and the United States have been warring since 1979 over sulphur dioxide pollution, much of it originating

in the United States, that has damaged as many as 16,000 Canadian lakes. The climate agreement signed last week contains both Canada's and the United States' levels of sulphur dioxide—the United States by the year 2000 and Canada by 1994. It also leaves room for addressing other common environmental problems. Declared Malruay: "Air quality will never be taken for granted again." Added Bush: "The treaty that we sign today is testimony to the seriousness with which both our countries regard this critical environmental issue."

Crises, however, said that any celebration was premature. For one thing, they pointed out that the accord is not an endorsement of legislation and lacks enforcement and monitoring powers. Liberal environment critic Paul Martin charged in the Commons that the signing of the agreement was of little value. "Other than a piece of paper for a couple of Tories."

Beyond the public ceremony, the two men met privately for more than three hours. The Middle East dominated those private talks. Entered Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who had just returned from a two-day tour of the region, briefed the two leaders on his talks with Israeli, Israeli, and Arab leaders. Said one senior Canadian spokesman: "The dominant message we were conveying was that there is an opportunity for movement in the Middle East on the fundamental political issues at stake. We believe that there is an opportunity for the Americans to exercise leadership."

Malruay had clearly hoped that such leadership would extend to efforts to curb the international arms trade. In a speech last month, he called for a summit of world leaders to debate means to end the proliferation of weapons. The defense spending of most nations, however, is less than five per cent of their gross domestic product. But Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Israel all account between 10 and 20 per cent of their GNP to weapons. During Bush's visit, Malruay followed up on that theme, noting that 95 per cent of Iraq's weapons had been sold to it by members of the UN Security Council—including the United States. "This just doesn't make a whole lot of sense," said Malruay during a news conference.

But Bush declined to support Malruay's proposal for a summit. And the Prime Minister's statements clearly indicated members of Bush's entourage, especially former New Hampshire governor John Sununu, now the President's chief of staff, were

noted his open during Malruay's comments. Bush, he appeared to be prepared to support Malruay on Canadian issues. Pointing out that the United States is Canada's "biggest trading partner," the President declared: "We are very happy with our unified Canada that has been itself, less allies, staunch ally. And when you have the answers, you go out and ask yourself questions." Indeed, according to some U.S. analysts, Canada's security is a subject of considerable concern to Washington. Said Frederick Mook of Clarkson University at Potsdam, N.Y., an expert in Canada-U.S. relations: "From the standpoint of the complexity of managing the relationship, a separate Quebec would be a problem."

But Malruay's apparently did not take detail about the subject that concerns many Canadians—the current negotiations for a free trade pact linking Canada, the United States and Mexico. Their brief public remarks concerning a bilateral agreement were sparse. Malruay said that the agreement was "a 'make North America the largest and richest trading bloc in the world.'" Acknowledging that attention is currently focused on events in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, Bush added: "It is very important that we not lose sight of this hemisphere." While he did not refer to Ottawa, the Canadian visitor from Washington indicated that he is willing to take his own advice.

GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

## National Notes

### TRAGEDY IN THE MOUNTAINS

Now skiers from Britain, France, Germany, Mexico and the United States died when a massive avalanche swept down the remote Pirelli Mountain range in southwestern British Columbia. The snowdrifts piled up to the area by helicopter. More than two dozen people have died in similar holiday accidents in Western Canada over the past decade.

### AM-BLITZED JOKE

Polish-British Minister Alan Rowley received four calves after he lightly said, while passing through the security gates of Ottawa International Airport, that an Argentine had a gun in some luggage. Rowley, who represents the Toronto riding of York Mills, said that he will co-operate fully with the RCMP investigation into his claims. It is an allusion to the Canadian Narcotics Act to join about weapons or handguns while in an airport.

### A PRE-ELECTION APPEAL

Stokichew's Conservative government, which must call an election by Nov. 15, asked the Supreme Court of Canada to rule quickly on whether new provincial electoral boundaries are unconstitutional. A Stokichew court struck down the boundaries on March 13 because they gave the majority of seats to rural ridings even though most voters live in cities.

### REPAIRS NOT

Ahead 250 fishermen and fish-pole workers smashed windows and computer equipment at a federal fisheries department office in southwest Newfoundland community of Port au Basque. The rioters were protesting Ottawa's decision to close the winter fishing season along Newfoundland's west coast before many residents had worked long enough to qualify for unemployment insurance. The rioter later closed 12 fisheries with riotous.

### A NEW B.C. PARTY

Officials of the newly formed provincial British Columbia Pacific Party said that its membership is seen to disaffected Social Credit, Liberal, Conservative and Reform members. The party plans to field candidates in the provincial election that must be called by November.

### COVERING HOME

Defence Minister William McKnight announced that, after visiting about 240 soldiers, most of the 300 members attached to the Canadian field hospital in Al Jubayl, on Saudi Arabia's Persian Gulf coast, will return to Canada this week.

Bush arriving in Ottawa with the Malruay family (below): mutual tributes



# ALL THE PM'S MEN

A team of Montrealers advises Mulroney

How is the Prime Minister, advising the Prime Minister, on all levels, especially the unity of Canada, his senior second-floor office close to Brian Mulroney in Parliament Hill's Laurier Block, Norman Specter keeps only a few carefully chosen mementoes. On one wall, the chief of staff in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) keeps a framed, autographed photograph of Mulroney and another of former British Columbia premier Wilton Benjamin, whom Specter served as deputy minister for five years. Another display nearby was an unusually arranged gift from former colleagues. The individually framed photographs show three Manitoba politicians: Premier Gary Filmon, New Democratic Party Leader Gary Bove and Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs. In the ultra-bright ambience over the faded March Lake combustion recent last year, the two were harsh and frequent critics of federal strategy, much of it derived in Ottawa's Federal-Provincial Relations Office—Specter's last posting before he moved to Mulroney's side last fall. Specter had the display mounted just behind his desk because, said one friend, "Norman appreciates a good joke—as well as a reminder of where he has been."

For the 42-year-old Specter, that reminder is particularly revealing. A bearded, especially disarming figure with a passion for sports, sports cars and privacy, Specter seldom gives interviews and almost never discusses his personal life. Although he is known to most Canadians, he is widely respected within federal and provincial government circles for his intellect. Now, Specter is a key part of the tight inner circle of bilingual Montrealers who advise the Prime Minister on federal-provincial affairs. The others include Paul Teller, who as head of the Prop Council Office (PCO) is the most senior public account, and Gordon Smith, the secretary to the cabinet for federal-provincial relations and the current chief of the Federal-Provincial Relations Office. Still, as an advisor shortly after his appointment late last year, Specter is the tradition of civil servants, developed the expertise of his role. Declared the chief of staff, "My background is policy. All I bring is policy perspective."

But many people say that after more than 15

years as a provincial and federal public servant, Specter's influence extends far beyond that. In Ottawa and in provincial capitals across the country, he is accurately revered and feared for his astute tactics and reflexes behind the

veil. "Political opponents are less charitable," declared Carstairs, who said she was "not at all afraid" when Specter's former colleagues asked for her photograph. "After what he and his crowd did with Meach, I would not give him anything. They are ruining the country."

In fact, by appointing Specter as chief of staff to Mulroney, Mulroney showed his determination to place constitutional reform at the top of his governing agenda. That would be an attempt with Mulroney's boldness came to office in 1984 of selecting senior advisors whose skills have served the priorities of the moment.

Mulroney's chief of staff, Bernard Roy, was a close friend and skilled negotiator who played a key role in Mulroney's earliest constitutional dialogues with Quebec. Roy's three successors—Derek Burney, Canada's current ambassador to Washington; tax expert Stanley Barz, another close Mulroney friend and now chief executive officer of Campbell Corp.; and Specter—have each brought specific talents to the job. Said Burney in an interview with *Maclean's*: "When the big issue was free trade, Derek was the man. When it was induction of the deficit, it was me. Now, it is the Constitution, and it is Norman's turn."

Specter brings an array of remarkable—and remarkable—achievements to his task. A Montreal native, he is fluent in English, French and Hebrew, and possible in Russian, which he studied as a security. He holds four degrees, including a doctorate in political science from New York's Columbia University, and worked for governments in Ontario and British Columbia before going to Ottawa to work in the Federal-Provincial Relations Office in 1980. In each of those positions, he earned a reputation for his ability to quickly assess complex situations and plan long-range strategies. Said L. Ron MacDonald, a former speech writer for Mulroney who worked closely with Specter: "Norman is a tremendously quick study. He can absorb things immediately and start reacting while others are still figuring out what is going on."

As well, both supporters and critics describe Specter as a tough, fearless and sometimes ruthless operator. While working in British Columbia for Burney, Specter acquired the

nickname "Dr. No" and "Dr. Doom" when he developed a reputation of spending very little time on anything that included weakening the province's human rights commission. During frequently bitter contract negotiations with the government employees union, he once remained in a room for 36 hours with union representatives—leaving only when settlement was reached. His determination was evident again during negotiations over the Meach Lake accord last year. Specter often pushed for talks to continue long after other, exhausted participants were saying a no. At the same time, even his advisors say that Specter, far from those closed-door meetings, he often presented different interpretations of the sessions to participants from different provinces. Said one former advisor to then-Ontario Premier David Peterson, who supported the federal position: "If there was no Mulroney, he would have been invited just for Namoo."

Before joining the federal government, Specter occasionally found himself supporting positions that Mulroney now opposes. As an advisor to Burney during the 1981 round of constitutional talks, Specter was one of the principal authors of the "notwithstanding" clause in the Constitution, which allows provinces to opt out of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Mulroney has since strongly criticized the clause for undermining the charter. As well, Specter asserted while working for Burney that any long-term arrangement with the United States should need ratification by the individual provinces. That was out done in the 1986 agreement between Canada and the United States. Specter now declines to discuss his views on either issue.

In his personal life, the unmarried Specter has varied tastes. Although he has lived in Ottawa since 1986, he still loves close ties with the West Coast, and returns there frequently. He owns a house in Victoria, and retains seasonly tickets for the Seattle Seahawks of the National Football League. He also maintains close ties with Montreal, where he indulges his passions for the Montreal Expos and the city's renowned street meat and bagels. He is a voracious reader whose tastes include French and Russian classics. He drives a sporty, dark-blue Fiat Spider sports car at the moment (switching to a government sedan in the winter), and takes middle delight in electronic gadgetry—using the portable, fold-out phone that he was issued by the PMO and a combination telephone facsimile and answering machine that he keeps in his flat at Ottawa's middle-class Sandy Hill district. Specter seldom entertains at home, but is described

by one friend as someone who "knows his way around around a good wine list" and favors expensive restaurants.

The other critical elements of Mulroney's latest constitutional strategy—Teller and Smith—are less widely known to the average voter than Specter. Still, after the Quebec Liberal party endorsed the constitutional Accord, which would transfer all but a handful of federal powers to the provinces, it was these three men who met for a lengthy dinner last week in a private room at the elegant Club Westby Burger in Hull, Que., to discuss the federal government's response.

Both Teller and Smith bring a wealth of experience to their jobs. Teller, 51, has served as a public servant under four prime ministers. For his part, Smith, 49, a former Canadian ambassador to Beirut, serves as a crucial link between the federal government and key per-

sonalists. For his part, Teller played a key role in the first months prior to the 1980 referendum on confederation. "Mr. Meach" the vice-president and policy campaign. He also prepared lists of facts and figures for different regions of Quebec, reflecting how many federal jobs and benefits such areas received. Officially as the Federal-Provincial Relations Office, he said Teller is likely to take on a similar role as the federal government seeks to steadily discuss with Quebec over the economic benefits of the Accord. He served as executive director of the Ontario Information Office from 1983 to 1986, a role which and decisively ramped Europe with a bilingual master and fluency in English, French, Chinese and Spanish. Roy, a former editor of *Montreal's Le Devoir* and *La Presse* newspapers, was one of the province's few consultants to support the "No" side in the referendum. A bold and experienced

questionnaire of Mulroney's, he will work on a part-time basis, providing analyses of the political mood in Quebec.

One trait that Specter and those advisors conspicuously share is that they are all bilingual Montrealers. As well, Specter and Teller both worked on the failed Meach accord. Gagner, who was chief of staff for Peterson when he was Ontario's premier, was a close-federal ally in those negotiations. Those common backgrounds have led some critics to suggest that the men around Mulroney are merely preoccupied with Quebec's constitutional concerns at the expense of those of the rest of the country. Said University of Toronto Institute Michael Smith, who opposed the Meach accord: "These men are people who have been in control of Canada. They do not realize that the great number of Canadians who opposed Meach still feel the same way."

In response to such concerns, defenders of Mulroney and his advisors insist that they have learned from the failure of Meach. They say that Mulroney is now acutely aware that he must satisfy all regions if there is to be any hope of a new constitutional accord. That time is increasingly short. With Premier Robert Bourassa's government scheduled to hold a referendum on separation, a constitutional agreement is needed by the fall of next year, and one PMO official, "That is not a deadline we can just brush aside."

For his part, close associates of Specter say that he is clearly aware of the size of the challenge that he faces as a key federal tactician. Said MacDonald: "Norman gets pumped up for the big events. He knows this is the biggest one yet." Added another close associate: "Norman will want things out, but at the end of the day he will fight very, very hard to win." For Specter and other participants in Canada's protracted constitutional crisis, patience and passion are essential virtues.

ANTHONY WALTON-SMITH and  
KAYE PLETCHER in Ottawa



Specter (left) with Mulroney; rough, fearless and bright



Smith brings wide-ranging experience to the job



Smith brings wide-ranging experience to the job

# TERROR IN THE STEETS

**RUTHLESS ASIAN GANGS BRING A NEW WAVE OF VIOLENCE TO CANADIAN CITIES**

**T**he group of Vietnamese-speaking youths seemed harmless at appearance. Two boys no taller than five feet, and apparently no older than 16, sat with their friends in the A Dong restaurant in downtown Toronto on March 3, drinking and taking turns singing from a small stage. At the next table, De Truong, a 28-year-old Chinatown cab driver with a group of five friends. Then at about 1:30 a.m., a quarrel erupted between the two tables and quickly led to a shoving match. After the level swiftly escalated, the teenagers left. De Truong remained with five friends that remained later; one of the teenagers returned with six other friends, brandishing a 9-mm semi-automatic pistol and a machine-carrier under a mini-Uzi. They aimed at the heads of their victims and opened fire. They left behind the bullet-riddled bodies of three men and a fourth victim with severe chest wounds. Said De Truong, who does for cover but was granted by a judge: "When I opened my eyes, there were people lying all around, crying. I thought I was dying." The massacre established a grisly new threshold in a surge of Asian violence sweeping the country.

**Violence:** The homicides were Toronto's 18th, 19th and 20th of the year. And they brought to seven the number of killings that police in that city have linked to Asian gangs since Dec. 4, 1990. While Chinese criminal syndicates known as Triads—which trace their roots to 19th-century resistance groups in China—have existed in North America for decades, those organizations have lost much of their control of street-level crime in Canada's

**Grievous shooting in Toronto: brutal war is raging in the Asian underworld**



Chinese to a new generation of more ruthless gangs. They are made up largely of recent arrivals from Vietnam and gangsters from mainland China and Hong Kong—called Da Hwa Ja, or Big Circle Boys in English. Now, the growing number of such gangs has erupted into deadly rivalries. Said Metropolitan Toronto Police Const. Kent Bradbury, a 30-year-old Asian-crime officer: "These new 38-clan Asian criminals are absolutely ruthless. They're not afraid of pain, and they're not afraid to die. Every day that they're alive is just another day to them."

Their victims, moreover, are often not confined to criminal rivals. According to police, the slain and wounded in the A Dong shooting were associated and had no criminal associations. Their mistake was apparently to argue violently with gang members. Those slain included: Son Wei Chen, 24, a chemical-engineering student at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, originally from Hong Kong; Thong Th, 27, an immigrant from Vietnam who worked in a circuit-board factory; and Duc Phu Hoa, 38, a recent refugee from Vietnam who worked as a Mississauga auto-parts factory. The wounded survivor, Hue Tran, 25, was in stable condition under police protection last week. Meanwhile, the shooting led to expansion of military-style operations for millions of Asian Canadians. Said Aislinn Van, president of the Toronto Chinese Business Association: "As I understand it, these were ordinary people who were there just to have a good time. It's worse than the gang revenge killings of the past. We are shocked and frightened."

**Murder:** Late last week, Toronto police brought their investigation of the A Dong shooting to a dramatic conclusion with the arrests of six people. Among them was one young offender who was to be arraigned this week on three counts of first-degree murder. But a more significant figure among those arrested was Thong Chi Truong—22-year-old, a recent refugee and fugitive from American justice. Police charged him, along with the other four detainees with being an accessory after the fact to the A Dong shooting. According to police sources in hell's home (Canadian provinces and U.S. states), Truong's arrest followed behind here of the most powerful of North America's new generation of Vietnamese gang leaders (page 32).

Indeed, Maclean's has also learned that a struggle between Truong's gang and a Toronto-based Vietnamese rival from the building is only recent. Chastised as shown in that city only police sources say that the struggle began last year when Truong launched a challenge against a Toronto da Ja, a gang leader, who leads one of the city's three main Vietnamese networks. With an estimated 40 followers, the da Ja's criminal record includes convictions for extortion and running a gambling house. In an ambush slaying on Feb. 3, a Vietnamese gangster armed with a 38-caliber revolver shot Vuh Duc Tat, 28, in the head in front of horrified shoppers in downtown Toronto's Kensington Market. Police said that Tat, who grew up on the streets of Saigon, was a Truong gang supporter apparently singled out for elimination by the rival Vietnamese gang leader. Declared one Asian-crime specialist on Toronto's police force: "It's so secret that these two groups are going at each other. It's a territorial dispute."

Gang rivalries have resulted in shootings in other

cities, as well. For the past six months, Vancouver's so-called Viet Chinese gang, which comprises criminals from Vietnam's ethnic Chinese minority, has repeatedly fought turf battles against a rival Vietnamese group. Shortly after an apparent break-out between members of the two gangs at Vancouver's Great Ocean Restaurant on Jan. 26, a Vietnamese man, who worked for the owner, was a 38-caliber revolver shot, in front of 24 customers, shot and killed Le Truong Thuy, 33, and Yen Au, 23 Police, who have been unable to find the killer, say that both victims were gang members. Meanwhile, in a street fight between two Vietnamese youth gangs in Calgary, Chinatown last April, a 16-year-old member of the Young Dragons fired eight shots with a 45-caliber semi-automatic pistol, killing an innocent 22-year-old bystander named James Tan. The killer is now serving the maximum three-year sentence for a young offender. And in Montreal, police say that the fiery shooting of a 16-year-old Asian gambler worker at 1989 occurred unprovoked.

The gangs are fighting for control of a wide range of lucrative illegal businesses. Most of the aging bosses of the criminal Triads now restrict themselves largely to acting as financial supporters for younger, higher-energy, brutal immigrants. But the Vietnamese gangster the Da Hwa Ja gang engage in everything from neighborhood extortion to international drug trafficking. Like the Triads, the new gangs prey almost exclusively on the Asian community, but as things so their networks reach across continents to major American cities and Hong Kong and other Far Eastern ports.

At the core of the struggle for power is the competition over illegal gaming houses. At night, gamblers, many of them respectable citizens during the day, meet in makeshift casinos in the basements of restaurants and clubs for high-stakes betting in games of chance. Toronto's Police say that in some nights, hundreds of thousands of dollars change hands—with the house taking in as much as \$50,000. Among real criminal specialists, said one police Asian specialist, "the gang leader who gets control of the most games wins."

**Battle:** Indeed, the large sums of cash also make the gambling dens tempting targets for burglars. In one robbery last year that lasted two hours, Vietnamese gangsters beat in California stole \$106,000 in cash and jewelry from a Toronto gaming house. Police say that many leading Vietnamese gangsters began their careers when they were in their teens and are armed gamblers to protect the gambling houses—until they began using their positions to rob their employers. Added Toronto's Det. Michael Hovey: "It's much more profitable to rob a gaming house than a bank, because no one is likely to report a game."

Another common gang activity is the operation of brothels staffed exclusively by young Asian girls. According to police intelligence sources, the criminal networks import many of the young women from such countries as Malaysia, Korea and Thailand—often with false promises of employment as entertainers. When they reach Canada, however, some of the girls are kept virtually as prisoners in the brothels (page 34).

Still, a majority of most crime networks in robbery is as various forms. Many of the gangs routinely extort protection money from Asian-

# HEROIN, HOOKERS AND HOME INVASIONS ARE GANG SPECIALTIES

owned jewelry stores, restaurants and gaming houses. Others use counterfeit credit cards obtained through gang connections in Hong Kong to buy luxury items for resale on the black market. But one of their most sinister practices is what police refer to as "home invasions." It is a method that takes advantage of the fact that many Asian businesses keep large amounts of cash in their basements rather than in banks. In those attacks, gang members break into a prosperous target's house, tie up the victim and beat him until he, or a family member, produces valuable items and money. Police in Montreal recorded 18 invasions last year in Asia. A Vietnamese merchant in Toronto told *Maclean's* that an associate who owns a Chinatown supermarket lost \$120,000 in a home invasion last year. The man, who was pistol-whipped, did not report the incident as soon as hospital treatment for the head wounds for fear of retaliation, *Maclean's* the merchant. "It is very scary. The gangs know who keeps money at home."

**Poppy.** The Vietnamese are not the first Oriental group to operate in Canada. In Vancouver in 1928, a special police commission of inquiry detailed payoffs by a Chinese gangster named Shue, nicknamed King of the Gamblers, to the mayor and police chief, prompting the chief's resignation. A 1962 letter to *Maclean's* described an Oriental smuggling network that brought 11,000 illegal Chinese immigrants to Canada during the 1950s. And Asian crime again spiked sharply in 1984 when Hong Kong gangsters established the first major Triad in Canada—Toronto's King Lok.

That organization continues to be the largest Canadian Triad, with about 400 members. Vancouver's Lotus Triad, the 14th gang in Toronto and one of the largest in the country, came out of the King Lok in 1982, according to the 1990 Organized Crime Committee report compiled by the national Association of Chiefs of Police.

Many of those groups maintain active links with Hong Kong—the birthplace of the Triads as eastern criminal syndicates. Just the notion of a British Crown colony's residents, as its return to mainland Chinese rule in 1997 looms closer, continues to bring a steady trickle of additional gangsters to Canada using the security of legitimate new arrivals (page 22).

But while the Triads are loosest together by delicate interbranches and secret initiation rituals, the Vietnamese gangs that emerged in the early 1980s are loosely knit bands. Indeed, police sources describe many of the estimated

300 hard-core Vietnamese gangsters in Canada as freelance dwellers who formed their associations in Southeast Asian refugee camps before arriving in North America. With the exception of Vancouver's Viet Gang, the groups are usually smaller, typically being identified only by the central figure in each unit. Still, the gangs are vicious, new recruits among young Vietnamese-Canadian men, some as young as 14 years old, by mutually providing them with food and shelter.



Yuen on his boat: citation for drunkenness during a gang beating.

The gangs' reach is continental-wide. Many members move frequently between Vietnamese underworlds in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New York, Tucson and the Canadian centres. Their underground network provides refuge for fugitives wanted for serious crimes, as well as for immigrants who are willing to avoid countries in distant cities where they are unlikely to be recognized. Declared Toronto's Det. Hovey: "It is nothing for a gang to do a jewelry-store robbery in Toronto or a Monte Carlo to Montreal and another the next day, and then be picked up in Calgary five days later on charges in a totally separate incident."

**Escalation:** Still, police say that the groups at the forefront of more sophisticated forms of organized crime are the shadowy networks of the Hoi Yee. Initially formed by members of the Mount Red Guard who moved to Hong Kong after carrying out mass executions and bank burnings during China's Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, the group takes its name from the circle of iron chains that surrounded the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou (Cancun).

two things that appealed. Police say that since 1987, hundreds of Big Circle Boys, most in their late 20s and 30s, have moved to Canada from Hong Kong and China.

In their most notorious undertaking, the Da Hoi Yee have turned Canada into a transshipment destination for Asian heroin sold to buyers in the United States. Asian heroin now accounts for 80 per cent of the drug currently consumed by an estimated 750,000 U.S. addicts. The gangs ship processed opium from its source in the poppy fields of the so-called Golden Triangle where the borders of Burma, Thailand and Laos meet in Southeast Asia. They pay individual couriers to carry the drug by air through Thailand or Hong Kong to Vancouver and Toronto, where the heroin is normally delivered to a second supplier for import into the United States. In recent years, police at Vancouver International Airport arrested two female couriers as they left a flight from Hong Kong on Jan. 22. They had taped a total of 16 lb. of the narcotic to the wheels of their flight and the seats of their bodies.

**Warlord:** The trade is highly profitable. A pound of heroin purchased for less than \$500 in the Golden Triangle can be sold and sold on the streets of Canada for \$90,000. Last month, the senior U.S. authorities and the senior U.S. authorities and the senior U.S. authorities arrived in people in a Da Hoi Yee network, based in that city, that had smuggled an estimated 1,200 lb. of heroin into North America between 1988 and 1990, earning a profit of \$72 million. Police say that the 40-person ring sponsored the Golden Triangle, which was likely supplied by the Thai gangster Kham Sa, and New York City, where its agents sold refined heroin directly to local distributors. Meanwhile, several gangsters claim that the 120 lb. of heroin that the star and costumes used last year in Canada amounted to only a drop in the total that was shipped through the country.

Members of the Da Hoi Yee traffic in bodies, as well. According to Toronto police intelligence officer Kenneth Yates, one of Canada's foremost experts on Asian crime, gang members provide forged documents and letters to illegal immigrants from mainland China who want to move to Canada. For their services, they charge a fee of up to \$20,000 per person. Indeed, last week an Ontario court sentenced a woman who maintained an alien smuggling ring to a total of 15 1/2 years in prison for allowing an estimated 150 Chinese immigrants into Canada between 1987 and 1990. Two of her co-conspirators pleaded guilty to similar charges and are awaiting sentencing. Police estimate that other gangs continue to smuggle at least 50 illegal immigrants into

Canada each week, and many of the new arrivals are paying off their debt to the gangs by working in either legitimate businesses or in the sex trade for less than \$20 per hour.

While members of the Da Hoi Yee are the most serious Asian criminals, Vietnamese gangsters are unquestionably the fiercest. Many of their cohorts have lost their lives in one another's wars. Two years ago, Pong Yuen, a Chinese Canadian, started a gang house in a plain office building without a gun to monitor off-track betting, while other police tactics were used outside. But the operation went away after four hooded Vietnamese gang members arrived with automatic guns, the hoodies discovered his police badge and ordered him to kneel down and place his hands behind his head.

**Assault:** Last week, Yuen, who was arrested, said, describing how two of the gangsters beat him up for 15 minutes. He recalled: "I was kicked in the face and my head was cracked in blood." Then, one of the robbers held the head of a 45-calibre automatic into Yuen's mouth, while another held a 357 magnum to his temple. Said Yuen: "They were not just taking my money. They were taking my life." Yuen, who is a doctor for several of the gang's members and that I observed to do. "Yuen heard a gun click and an assault began. "Goodbye, cop!"

And the same, which was quickly closed when another of the robbers noticed that the building was surrounded by police. Two of the suspects were arrested at the scene, but Yuen, who was severely injured, was one of Yuen's attacks into a bank area where he had been burglarized in a bank and breaking through a piece of stone. Police found him after 30 minutes using tracking dogs.

Permanent scars on his past allowed that the gangster had asked police the trigger, but that the bullet in the chamber had not fired. Two of the robbers are serving sentences of up to 10 years, while Yuen's two attackers are awaiting trial on charges of robbery, devastating damage, assaulting an officer and use of a firearm in an indictable offence. Canadian police, who were sent Toronto's Police Chief of the Year last month for his bravery during the attack. "I have no doubt that they would have done me if they had not been intercepted."

Since then, Yuen has received several death

threats and he now avoids all Asian establishments with him or not on duty. A similar case of gang wars has made many other victims of the police. In recent years, police have been called to respond to their crimes to police. One Chinese restaurant owner and recent robbery victim in Calgary, who requested anonymity: "Asian criminals are usually immigrants who grew up accustomed to blood and violent death. They prefer places that cater to Chinese because those people are afraid to go to the police. The victims know police cannot



Vancouver's Chinatown: a fight, a .38 revolver and two dead.

be there all the time—and they know the gangs can be there 24 hours a day. They can get you."

That apprehension is one reason that police often find it difficult to solve serious crimes such as gang shootings. Another problem for authorities is the expectation among many recent arrivals from Southeast Asia that Canadian police will be as corrupt as the forces in Hong Kong, Vietnam and China. Just under the current maps of terror, some members of the Asian community are calling for more protection from police. Lawyer David Poon, who established a practice in Toronto after emigrating from Hong Kong 20 years ago, noted that while the city's police force has a dozen

Chinese-Canadian officers, there is only one who speaks Vietnamese. Said Poon: "The kidnapping and extortion of Vietnamese is still taking place, and many of my friends are frightened. Many of those terrified have Vietnamese names, and we need more Vietnamese-speaking officers."

In partial response, Toronto police chief Charles Hogg has ordered Chinese officers in Chinatown, and vice conducting recruitment presentations at the Vietnamese community in order to attract crime applicants to the force. For their part, the Montreal and Calgary police forces last year created new divisions: Asian-crime squads and last week the Vancouver police force expanded its Asian-crime section from 11 to 20 officers.

But some Asian community leaders still denigrate the extent of the gang problem, and some police are expressing the same in order to fuel public opposition to immigration from Asian countries. Said Kenneth Cheng, president of the Chinese Professional Business People's Association in Montreal: "It's not like the situation in Hong Kong, where it's a place to qualify a candidate on immigration from the Pacific Rim."

**Caution:** Indeed, some officials want to reinforce screening procedures for new arrivals in one factor: contributions to the Asian crime wave. But those officials deny that they have reduced immigration from Asian countries. Instead, they say that they are only seeking better checks for illegal passport and criminal records. They say that they are especially concerned about a potential explosion of high-ranking Triad members from Hong Kong as the 1997 deadline approaches. Said Michael King, a former Hong Kong police officer and a founder of Toronto's Asian-crime squad, who is no longer with the force: "The crime bosses will hang on in Hong Kong and make money until the very last second, but they plan to come to Canada but already be well known."

Meanwhile, detectives who investigated the shooting in Toronto's A Dong restaurant remain stunned by its unprecedented violence. Among the most shocking elements of that incident, they say, is the evidence that Vietnamese gangs have armed school-age youngsters with automatic weapons. As well, experts assert that the growing pattern of shootings in public places is placing Canadians of all backgrounds at risk. For the moment victims of the carnage at the A Dong, that was a prediction that had already come true.

**PHIL KAPLAN** AND **DAN BURKE** in Montreal; **BRAND BERGMAN** in Toronto; **JOHN MORRIS** in Calgary and **PAUL QUINN** in Vancouver

# INSIDE THE GANGS

## AN UNDERWORLD REIGN OF TERROR

It began as a simple pursuit of a speeding automobile one night last March. But when the Montreal police pulled over the Buick Le Sabre with Massachusetts plates, they could not let the car—and its four Vietnamese occupants—just clearly been involved in breaking more than just the speed limit. The Buick's rear window had been shattered, presumably by the same gunshots that left eight spent shells scattered in the car's interior. During a subsequent search of the pursuit route, the police also discovered a restricted, 38-caliber revolver and an illegal importer. Shen gun—look respectively arrested during the chase. Police charged the men with possession of the weapons. Only later did police learn that the men had also been involved in an arranged shootout in Montreal's Chinatown—and were associates of Truong Chi Truong, 38, a rising young kingpin whose expanding influence in North America's Asian underworld was finally checked with his arrest last week.

Truong's arrest in Toronto on charges of being an accessory to murder brought to an end to a 28-month international manhunt. Since November, 1988, Truong, known on the streets of Chinatown by his nickname "Ah Sing," had successfully eluded police in the United States and Canada after escaping from a Massachusetts prison where he was serving a sentence for armed robbery. In that time, according to police sources in the three Canadian provinces and as many U.S. states, Truong had emerged as a shadowy figure within an expanding criminal network with a reach that included Calgary, Boston and New York, as well as Montreal and Toronto.

**Disloyalty:** The extent of that network became evident to Asian specialists with the Montreal Urban Community police force's anti-gang squad as their investigations of the street conflict among the Buick progressed. The investigators learned that the vehicle erupted after members of one long-established local Oriental gang argued with rival adherents of Truong's group of about 60 followers in Montreal. In the past year, say police and underworld sources, that group has used control of organized crime in Montreal's Chinatown and introduced a highly disciplined and skillfully violent new style of urban war and extortion. Said Sgt. Mario Lamotte, an anti-gang squad member who has been

investigating Truong for more than a year: "We don't know who was the Buick shooter—but we know who was the war."

Until last week, Truong appeared content on extending his influence to Toronto—and the lucrative gambling, prostitution and protection rackets of that city's Chinatown. That ambition, police sources in Montreal and Boston told *Maclean's*, pointed Truong against Toronto's emerging Vietnamese crime boss, a call



Boston's Wood: Truong 'could easily put fear into people'

ower and controlled extortionist who arrived in Canada as a refugee in the early 1980s. At first, Asian-crime experts assumed, the newcomer Truong struck a mutual nonaggression pact with his Toronto-based Vietnamese rival. But by late last year, the power struggle between the two men had erupted into violence in one incident in February, an indecisive armed shootout shot Viet Diep Tin, a 28-year-old Truong associate, to death in a Chinatown sidewalk. But according to those who know Truong, violence was unlikely to deter him. Said Boston Mayor, a Boston police detective who often met Truong in Massachusetts: "He is a vicious, vicious person."

Indeed, Truong, an ethnic Chinese who is originally from Saigon, displayed the extraordinarily subtle and violent nature of North America's emerging Vietnamese gang life. Like many of his criminal associates who fled

Yankee, he spent time in a refugee camp in his case in Malaysia. In 1978, then just 20, he and his younger brother gained entry to the United States as refugees. The Truong landed in Texas, but they quickly moved to Boston, where Truong's brother opened a beauty salon. Truong, by his own claim, once worked there as a hairdresser.

But Massachusetts police officers familiar with the five-foot, 44-year-old Truong say that it is unlikely that he ever picked up a pair of scissors—not, at least, to cut hair. "Ah Sing used to bring around the suits and businessmen and stuff," said Capt. Gary Wood, the Massachusetts state correctional officer assigned to re-capture him. "When he needed money, he would just go out and extort some from his Asian business." Added another detective: "He could very easily put fear into people."

**Crime:** According to police, that fear was well founded. In Boston, they say, Truong initially went to work as a street-smart man and end-of-the-road for a local leader of the Ping On, but, said recently Boston's foremost organized Asian crime group is. December, 1986, Truong led a group of associates that included Ming Loung, a resident of Brooklyn, N.Y., Sen. In Boston, they say, Truong initially went to work as a street-smart man and end-of-the-road for a local leader of the Ping On, but, said recently Boston's foremost organized Asian crime group is. December, 1986, Truong led a group of associates that included Ming Loung, a resident of Brooklyn, N.Y., Sen.

to Oakland, Calif. Their assignment, according to police intelligence sources, to look for Sen. Yu Yu, a 30-year-old former gang member with a cocaine and gambling problem. Yu, police say, had fled to Oakland after stealing back his losses from an evening's play at one of the gaming houses owned by Truong's employer. Truong and Loung located Yu in an Oakland nightclub. The next day, Yu was found murdered in a motel room in Hollywood. Det. Dennis Kikoye, a homicide investigator with the Hollywood police department, later questioned Truong, who admitted meeting Yu but denied killing him. No one has been charged in the slaying.

While continuing to work for his Boston gang boss, however, Truong quickly began to make out on his own. Police believe that at the same time that Yu was murdered, Phuk Lee and Kwai Truong two Truong cohorts from Cal-



Boston's Chinatown: Truong's police may shot (below) from junior enforcer to an extensive, independent criminal network

ifornia, twice travelled to Toronto, where they are now wanted on charges that they held up jewelry stores. Then, in January, 1987, Truong, Loung and the Californians held up a jewelry store in Lowell, Mass., 44 km northwest of Boston. The owner resisted and prevented the robbery—but not before one of the gang assaulted his wife. Said Lowell police Lt. Jeffrey Davidson: "They pistol-whipped the woman. There was killed her."

**Prison:** Shortly after, police arrested Truong, Loung and the two Californians, as well as three other members of Truong's gang. Loung and the Californians were tried and sentenced for the robbery and pistol-whipping. The trio, together with Truong, were also convicted for an earlier robbery in the same city. For his part, Truong received an 18-year sentence on June 20, 1986. But when he was transferred five months later to a maximum-security prison in Shirley, Mass., he promptly escaped.

Shortly thereafter, "Ah Sing" appears to have moved his base of operations to Canada, while his continued wide network of criminal

associates became stronger than ever. Police in Montreal told *Maclean's* that his headquarters for operations in that city were provided by two natives of Hong Kong—one of them recently arrested for carrying an unregistered handgun—who operate a downtown restaurant. At the same time, Truong also recruited

an expanding circle of criminal fast walkers. Among them was Quang Tran, 36, the driver of the Buick stopped last March after the Chinatown shootout. Tran now faces weapons charges related to that incident. In an earlier encounter with the law in 1989, U.S. customs officers arrested Tran along with two other Vietnamese men at the New York border when the officers found cash to \$10,000 in counterfeit U.S. currency concealed within door panel of their car. Last April, Tran failed to show up for his scheduled appearance in U.S. Federal Court to face charges arising from that arrest. He now works as a waiter at a downtown Montreal bar where, police sources told *Maclean's*, the owner was forced to hire members of Truong's gang. Meanwhile, police estimated



that by the beginning of this year, Truong's syndicate was extracting up to \$10,000 a week from Montreal Chinatown businesses. Said one restaurant owner, who complained that Asian Montrealers now avoid Chinatown at night: "The whole thing is like a bad Hollywood movie."

**Arrest:** Truong's growing influence produced enemies as well as profits. Said one Toronto Asian-crime specialist before Truong's arrest: "He's not only wanted by police, but by other gangs. He's probably got a price on his head from gangs across the United States and Canada." As Truong rose to the top of authorities' most-wanted lists in law, frustration increased among the agencies pursuing him. Last year, a detective in Boston received a tip that Truong would be travelling into the city—where his wife and seven-year-old daughter still live—to meet his teenage girlfriend. "I had surveillance set up at her mother's house and everything," he said. "We waited and waited. He never showed." Finally last week, more than two years after his escape, Truong's freedom came to an abrupt end. And with his arrest, so too—at least for the present—did his career as a rising kingpin of the underworld.

**DAN RUTHER** in Montreal with PAUL KAYLA in Toronto



Bangkok bar entertainers: enticed to Canada, then into prostitution

## 'IMPRISONED' PROSTITUTES

### THE GANGS RUN LUCRATIVE BROTHELS

The streetfront, with its stone facade and brightly lit sign emblazoned with Chinese characters, is sandwiched among bars, convenience stores and video arcades in a row-front strip plaza in central Toronto. From a cabaret's window inside the lobby, two Oriental men scrutinize visitors. They buzz open the heavy, locked front door, and half a dozen well-coiffed women take a look halfway. The main piece of furniture inside is a cushioned massage table. An attractive young Oriental woman in a pink, silky gown that enters and introduces herself in play. After a few minutes of massaging her lower client, May asks in broken English "Massage come in single or double—which would you like?" After questions in a coded order of sex. The massage parlor itself is one of a network of illicit brothels run by Asian gangs in cities such as Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary.

The brothels are part of an extensive new Asian-gangster crime network that specializes in robbery, extortion, gambling and drug dealing. The strip-plaza brothel, open until 2 a.m. every night, is equipped with bar stools and, also provides casual pleasures for clients who, for \$150 a session to the regular exchange charge of \$50, request the "double." Like other underground Asian brothels, it is staffed exclusively by young, often destitute girls from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and elsewhere in the Far East where similar clubs thrive. According to police, the girls are kept in groups of 28 to 30 by Asian gangs who also attract them with promises of promising high-wage jobs in Canada as waitresses and entertainers. When they arrive, however, some of the girls become virtual prisoners of brothel managers. Said Det. Michael Slattery, head of an Asian crime squad that has raided several Toronto brothels

"It boggles my mind when I see teenage girls forced to work in these conditions." Managers often disguise the brothels as beauty or massage spas in malls and remote industrial plants. Some newer Chinese gangs, such as the De Hua Ju, or Big Circle boys, also locate them in suburban homes or high-rise apartments. To reduce the chances of police detection, they almost always serve only Asian clients.

**Guilty.** Despite that protection, police have managed to close scores of the brothels. In one case, Wing Bei Ng, 28, and Steven Leung, 36, pleaded guilty last year to a series of charges related to prostitution and forcible confinement. They had packed their stolen car with Asian prostitutes by standing a classification showing at a hotel on Toronto's airport strip. A gang associate based in Hong Kong had provided false passports to smuggle about 30 girls into Canada—and then put them on display at the hotel for nervous brothel keepers. Ng and Leung chose women aged 15 to 25 from Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong. The gang turned a weekly profit of \$50,000 by charging their Asian clients \$150 for each visit to the brothel. The women received \$22 of the fee.

The prostitutes often worked under brutal conditions. When two of the women wanted to leave because they had not realized that they would have to work as prostitutes, they were forcibly confined by armed guards. Soon after arriving, one 18-year-old Malaysian had to be kept in hospital after the managers forced her to have intercourse with more than 40 clients in three days. When police raided the operation, officers found a 40-calibre pistol and a 357-calibre handgun in the house. Ng was sentenced to a two-year jail sentence, while Leung and five of the women were deported to their home countries.

Conditions are even better for May. Working her long dark hair in a ponytail, the 22-year-old says that she arrived in Toronto last month after going from Hong Kong, lives in her own room nearby and occasionally sends a portion of her weekly \$300 salary to her parents. According to one of the brothel's managers, she is one of 10 girls who are recruited through newspaper ads in Hong Kong. "It's hard to find pretty girls who are experienced," he said. But as the girls trade, that is quickly squared.

PUEL KATZ/USA

# EMPIRE OF THE TRIADS

## AN ASIAN 'MAFIA' FLEXES ITS MUSCLE

**T**heir first, striking, neon signs—some lit up by thousands of blinking light bulbs—were at petrol stations and restaurants on Hong Kong's Nathan Road like a psychedelic hallucination. The people on the street were almost as frenetic, as they study the sleek, fast-food, and most expensive good time available before the lights of Hong Kong change in 1997—when the

Montreal, St. Louis, and the New York cover police Asian Crime Section. "The Triads have been in Toronto since the late 1970s. They surfaced in Vancouver in 1987. They have made their connections."

Around the Pacific Rim, the Triads' comes are for more notorious—and chilling—than those of North America's Mafia. Among Hong Kong's 5.8 million residents alone, police say,

also emigrated to Canada with his family.

Triad chiefs like Kan, and the leaders of other crime syndicates with such names as the LAK, Wo Sang Ka and United Revolution, control multibillion-dollar empires. Now Vancouver's Chin "The Triads are incredibly profit-oriented, engaging in everything from pornography, to murder, to trafficking heroin." Their activities in Asia—and increasingly in Canada—stand in well to gambling, prostitution, money laundering, counterfeiting, smuggling, smuggling and extortion.

**Fearful.** The Triads' current activities represent an astonishing evolution from their pathetic origins. The modern ones formed in southern China in the late 1800s, when five Chinese Buddhist monks swore to overthrow the Manchu rulers who had deposed the Ming Dynasty. They took their name—and they symbolized, a triangle—like the Chinese concept of the three fundamental elements of the universe: heaven, earth and man. The cosmic revolution failed, but the network of secret associations that they founded prospered. By the late 1800s, the Triads had evolved into widely based criminal societies. During the opium wars in China after the Second World War, they aligned themselves with Chiang Kai-shek against the Red Army of Mao Tse-tung. But when the Communists seized control of mainland China in 1949, the syndicates fled to Taiwan and Hong Kong.

In six years, however, the advances of Mao's China will erode Hong Kong. And in the meantime, the Triads' have been and are becoming more powerful. The Triads' expected attempts to relocate after June 1997, federal Solicitor General Pierre Gauthier signed an agreement with Hong Kong's colonial administration to increase co-operation in police maintaining that such Triad activities as police trafficking. And next month, police agencies from around the world will gather in Seattle to share information about the Triads. They face a major task. As the syndicates' untethered power and prosperity after more than three centuries of emaciated existence, the Asian dream of Nathan Road and gay centers at fading destinations—and reducing their walls.

RAL QUINN in Vancouver with  
THOMAS LEWIS in Hong Kong

Hong Kong: An exodus of leading criminals before the colony's return to China in 1997

People's Republic of China, takes over the British colony. Inside the docks on Nathan Road, the most elegantly dressed men—the ones wearing the most money and becoming by the most beautiful women, do not provide their names. They are known instead by number—always divisible by three—or by titles like "the Red Pole." Treated with deference and respect, they are among the most powerful members of the richest, most far-reaching and most ruthless criminal organizations in the world—the Chinese Triads. And like tens of thousands of lowest and legitimate Hong Kong citizens who hope to leave the colony before the 1997 deadline, the Triad chieftains are also being given to depart—easy of their to Canada.

In fact, the Triads' advance teams are already active in this country. The LAK and Kung Lok Triads are growing forces in the Chattanooga, Vancouver, Calgary and

there are over 300,000 full-fledged Triad members. By comparison, most estimates put the number of Mafia members in North America at around 2,000. And with a discipline maintained by their North American criminal rank, Triad fast soldiers are known not only to secrecy and obedience, but also to put the Triads' interests above those of their families and even above their own lives.

**London.** According to Hong Kong government sources, in the past few years there has been a steady exodus of top Triad leaders. Their favored destinations are the Commonwealth of Canada, the United States, Australia and Europe. Canadian police sources say that at least one high-ranking Triad member has reached Canada, arriving two years ago by way of Europe. And the Hong Kong newspaper South China Morning Post reported in November that a leader of Hong Kong's Tin Yee Triad, nicknamed Ngai Kan (Dial Tension), had



Trainees in Calgary: intelligent people who never had a chance to be kids

## ESCAPING MEAN STREET

THERE ARE NEW WAYS TO SAVE THE KIDS

For Tim, a 21-year-old refugee from Vietnam, the path to a new life in Canada came in three long leaps. After escaping from Vietnam with his parents in 1979, he spent three years in a Hong Kong refugee camp. Arriving in Winnipeg in 1982 with only a Grade 1 education, Tim found it difficult to adjust to a Manitoba classroom and dropped out of school in 1987. His parents, who lived in welfare, had meanwhile moved in Toronto. Left on his own, Tim ran afoul of the law and was arrested on assault and weapons charges. Like many Asian youths in recent situations, he was in no way fit for gang activities. This came a turning point: in September, 1989, Tim entered a special outreach program for Asian youths offered by the Winnipeg school board. "It was to be lay and not study," said Tim, who asked that his full name not be used. "Now, I and the other students improve our English and are diligent. It gave us a chance to live."

Most other school boards across Canada offer some upgrading programs for young immigrants whose first language is not English or

French. But projects like Winnipeg's South Asian Program represent a new attempt by schools and social agencies to deal with the particular problems of young Asian immigrants who have slipped into a life of crime and violence. As well as giving students the academic skills they need to succeed, the program offers psychological counseling and practical life skills advice to overcome the recent effects of an often troubled upbringing. "These are intelligent, understanding people who, because of war-torn families, violence and unemployment, never had a chance to be kids," said Roger House, a youth worker (and wife of Marianne's Calgary brother) who has helped the program start at school in that city as well as the Winnipeg project. "It is a waste of brains potential not to fight for these."

Similar concerns inspired Winnipeg's inner-city School Division 1 to establish its outreach program for Asian youths in 1989. Divisions recruited 35 Asian dropouts, aged 16 to 19, and paid them \$150 per hour for their class. In most cases, the youths' parents had either abandoned them or were stranded in

detestable refugee camps. Adrift on the streets of an unfamiliar country, many of the young men had found at least a modicum of order by joining gangs—and had acquired criminal records for offenses that included peeping, sexual, and break and enter.

In response, the Winnipeg school program provided basic education courses ranging from sex education to civics, as well as two additional academics. The youths were also offered intense personal counseling—which sometimes extended to instructions getting the students out of bed if they failed to show up at school. Social project co-ordinator Ting Hsieh, 37, finds it a form of deprogramming—especially with kids who are deeply into gangs.

After a year, the program showed some encouraging results. Six graduates found full-time jobs, two enrolled in community college, one returned to high school and three others are currently living on unemployment assistance while taking further schooling. Of the 35 youths who entered the program, only three drifted back into trouble with the law, apparently after being recruited by members of a West Coast gang. Police arrested all three in Vancouver in December, 1990, and lost weapons charges against them.

**Cries:** Despite its success, the one-year trial program at Winnipeg ended last fall. Still, Hsieh, who hopes to revive the program if she can find funding, keeps its revival coming by her graduate—a form of follow-up that she considers essential. Still Hsieh, "The underworld spots student talent fast. Adolescents are so vulnerable. They do anything for acceptance."

For her part, House, who is executive director of the Calgary Association for Young Adults, hopes to duplicate the success of the Winnipeg project. Backed by a \$300,000 grant from the federal government's Canadian Job Strategy Program, House recruited 15 Asian students, aged 16 to 19, to her Redding Calgary Community School by posting notices at city youth centers and community centers. Like the Winnipeg program, students receive intensive personal counseling and attend classes in English, mathematics and such technical skills as woodworking. Said House: "We try to give them an option, so they find that they can survive. Unlike without choosing crime."

Proponents of the outreach programs believe that their approach allows them to help young people who had previously slipped through the system. "Most traditional [English-as-a-second-language] programs assume a middle-class target group and bring them into mainstream education," writes Ting in *Strangers*. Says David Gibson, deputy program superintendent for Winnipeg's School Division 1: "This simply does not happen with refugee youth." For young refugees like Tim, the special programs plainly offer at the least an alternative to the siren life of the streets.

DANIEL BERGMAN with correspondence in English

## PEOPLE

### A NEW LEASE ON LIFE

The cohost of CBC TV's *The Sexuality Network*, Suzanne Pettit, says that she is "feeling wonderful" after her double lung transplant on Feb. 10. Pettit co-hosts the current affairs show about disability issues with Joe Coughlin, who has cerebral palsy. Pettit, 26, has cystic fibrosis, and before the operation she had to keep an oxygen tank with her. But now, said Pettit, "I haven't felt like this since I was a little girl." About the risky procedure, Pettit said, "Even if I only get the month I was already back, it will have been worth every second."

### Manly mush

Decided recent Susan Swanson's career seemed about certain to end in a record fifth Montreal Trail Ski Dog Race last week. Then, the weather deteriorated and she was overruled by a male challenger. Butcher, 34, had been about as low as he'd ever been in the sport. At the time, when people in the town of 800 north-end of Arlene said they were shocked to hear such a famous landlady, Butcher said he had only one published visit to Montreal and has not yet begun promised development plans. Now, many are expressing disillusionment. Swanson's Montreal neighbor David Higgins: "She's pretty. But she isn't doing much for people around here."



Swanson: You are men, women men

### TALES OF OTHER YOUTHS

At last of *Twister's* literary show *Imprint*, Daniel Richter will not be in a position to review his own work in May, the oldest son of Montreal's Richter will release his first novel, *Rolling Towards Sea*, Richter, 34. The book is about his generation of teenagers in the late 1970s in Montreal. It's a story of everything you never wanted to know about teenagers and was afraid to ask. "I selected the book because I think a lot of people kept really quickly how much they were not and became very judgmental," said Richter said that although the novel takes place in Montreal, where he spent much of his adolescence, it is not autobiographical. "There's a school that he's from. He's Jewish, covered drug wars and a heroin shipment," said Richter. "I wasn't involved in anything like that." Richter, who was married to his first wife in April last October, said that for April 1991, he may review his own book. But, he added, "We're not all convinced it's a good idea."

Richter: drug wars and a burning school



Swanson: no longer Swanson's thrill

### ABSENTEE LANDLADY

Many residents of Brampton, Ont., say that they are losing patience with Kim Swanson. Last year, the actress bought most of Brampton's real estate for \$33 million. At the time, many people in the town of 800 north-end of Arlene said they were shocked to hear such a famous landlady. But Swanson has made only one published visit to Brampton and has not yet begun promised development plans. Now, many are expressing disillusionment. Swanson's Montreal neighbor David Higgins: "She's pretty. But she isn't doing much for people around here."

### Singing the modern blues

On his new album, *The Moderns*, Guy Murray McLachlan has turned from country songs about the heart to blues about the Earth. The reason, says McLachlan, 42, is his growing environmental concern. "There's a huge forest around Great Bear Lake where huge patches are stripped by logging," said McLachlan. "For everyone think it is still irrelevant." He added: "We must achieve a spiritual connection with the Earth."



Baker (left) with Shamir in Jerusalem: a poll showed that Israelis are evenly split on the issue of trading land for peace

## WORLD

# FROM THE ASHES OF WAR

A s he toured the Middle East last week, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was delicately per-suaded, in Jerusalem, he arranged an official schedule to place flowers on the graves of four Jewish women whom a Palestinian snatched to death the day before Baker's arrival. In Damascus, he failed time to visit Syria's ancient Umayyad Mosque and was with shoppers in a souk. With Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, he was anxiously negotiating, making an effort to pressure his host on the sensitive issue of surrendering land for peace with Arab neighbors. With Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, he was unexpectedly loquacious, opening out his talks for seven hours and apparently assuring Assad that surrendering Israel to invade occupied territory was grossly unjust. Baker seemed his host by declaring that he had seen "a serious desire to work for peace." His tone differed from that of another Western visitor to the church and Syrian capitals. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who said he had found no change in attitude on either side. Still, some Middle East experts said that they detected a glimmer of

## AFTER THE GULF WAR, WASHINGTON PURSUES A RARE OPPORTUNITY TO SETTLE THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

hope. Said William Quandt of Washington's comparative Brookings Institution: "I am moderately optimistic."

While Baker was in Damascus, President George Bush flew to Ottawa to see Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in the first of a series of meetings with America's non-Arab coalition partners in the liberation of Kuwait. One hope, the two leaders discussed as they surveyed the prospects for a partner peace in the region was the chaotic situation made Iraq, where Presi-

dent Saddam Hussein's forces are fighting Shi'a rebels in the south and Kurdish extremists in the north. In a joint press conference with Mulroney, Bush accused Hussein of violating a previously unspoken condition of the ceasefire by using helicopter gunships to get down those insurgents. He also cautioned him against "propping" Iraq territory. But Bush seemed cool to Mulroney's plea for an international conference to work-arise experts to the Middle East. And he again indicated that he would welcome Hussein's overthrow. Declared Bush: "It is hard to see how an Iraq with him at the helm can secure the kind of peace-making success." But Bush's overall concern was clearly the Arab-Israeli dispute, which most analysts say is the core problem of the Middle East.

The dispute dates back to 1917, when Britain promised "a national home" for the Jewish people in Palestine, but without prejudice to the "civil and religious rights" of the Arab population. Between the two world wars, when Britain ruled Palestine under a League of Nations mandate, it became increasingly clear that these two aims were irreconcilable. After

the Second World War, the United Nations drew up a partition plan that the Jews accepted but the Arabs rejected. In 1948, after Britain surrendered its Palestine mandate, two Arab armies invaded the newborn state of Israel. The conflict lasted 1949 solidified into Israel's borders, leaving the Gaza Strip under Egyptian control, Jerusalem divided and the West Bank annexed to Jordan. Those frontiers endured until the Six-Day War of 1967, when Israel captured Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, Gaza, Arab East Jerusalem and the Spratly-occupied Golan Heights. Since then, those territories have remained under Israeli occupation—with the exception of Sinai, which Israel gradually returned to Egypt under the two countries' historic 1979 peace treaty. Now, in the aftermath of the Gulf War—which Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia fought

Baker—or Jordan and Somalia, as they call it—is a venerable part of the Jewish people's heritage. In the face of such extended attitudes, Washington does not yet seem ready to face the issue. "We cannot impose peace," Baker told reporters on arrival in Jerusalem. Rather, he said, he will continue to insist, in private and to public on good offices. "According to Shimon, Baker did not even raise the question of land for peace in their talks. But the Israeli clearly have no illusions. Said David Knicker, a former director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry: "The current work, must be the peace, will be in the next months. Indeed, when Baker spoke to reporters in Damascus, he appeared to reaffirm U.S. determination to secure Israel's eventual compliance with the resolutions 242 and 338. He agreed with the Syrian that so much standards should be applied in dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict, a clear reference to the occupied territories and Washington's insistence on Iraq's obeying the UN resolutions to leave Kuwait. In fact, it seems, there was no suggestion of U.S. military action. But Baker stressed that "the United States will do whatever it can to use as an ally and good offices with Israel to help achieve a solution."



Israeli stabbing victims: "a message to Baker"

ing, their common enemy with Israel—Bush and Baker must that there is a rare opportunity to settle the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict. Bush has said that his visit was based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which call for Israel's withdrawal from territory—not "the" territory, a deliberate ambiguity—that it occupied in 1967. But the Israelis claim that they have already complied with those resolutions by returning Sinai to Egypt. They insist that, for security reasons, they must retain the Golan Heights, as well as the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where 1.75 million Palestinians live. And beyond strategic considerations, Israel's ruling religious and nationalist hard-liners claim that the West

bank weapons to pressure Israel. "I will never move forward to withdraw lands," said Robert Haefner, a Middle East expert at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The only present we can make is to get in there and eventually come up with what the Israeli government and its Arab neighbors can't refuse." Although hawkish members of the Shimon government say that they refuse even to consider giving up occupied territory, the Israeli public seems to be evenly split on the issue. As a opinion poll published in the Tel Aviv daily Yedioth Aharnoth (The Latest News) last week showed that 49 per cent of respondents favored trading land for peace and the same

## HOMECOMER FLEES GERMANY

The Bonn government demanded that the Soviet Union return former East German Coast Guard Captain Joachim Knebel, to custody, who secretly travelled to Moscow for medical treatment. Homecker, 78, is facing manslaughter charges over the killing of citizens trying to flee then-East Germany. He had been living for nearly a year in a Soviet-run hospital near Berlin.

## INDIA CALLS ELECTIONS

India's President Rameswar Venkateswaram dissolved parliament to pave the way for a general election, likely in May. He took the action one week after the four-month-old minority government of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar resigned over a dispute with the Congress party, led by former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, which withdrew its support. Without the 311 votes that the Congress party commanded in the 545-seat lower house, Shekhar's 54-seat Janata Dal-Secular party could not pass legislation.

## PAPANDJIROU ON TRIAL

Former Greek prime minister Andreas Papandriou, and three of his ministers went on trial in Athens for bribery. They are accused of accepting money from fugitive banker George Kiriakou, who allegedly embezzled millions of dollars from the Bank of Crete. The scandal broke in 1988 and contributed significantly to the defeat of Papandriou's Socialist government the next year.

## MUSSEIN FIGHTS ON

Iraq President Saddam Hussein, in his first appearance on Baghdad television since the end of the Gulf War, vowed to crush rebellions. Kadhafi in the north who have been resisting his authority since the fighting stopped. And countering claims by Shiite Muslim rebels in the south that they fight contractors, he said that the rebellion has been suppressed and that part of the country. Hussein said it was time to go ahead with dramatic reforms that he said were delayed by the war.

## LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African President F. W. de Klerk indicated that he would support an initiative plan that would help black farm state-owned landowners not occupied by whites and give about two million landless farmworkers to township plots that they have leased for decades. The many anti-apartheid leaders denounced de Klerk's plan because it would require them to be expropriated 50 million black farms to an estimated 30 million black farms that were left behind after their traditional





## TROUBLED LANDS



In 1952, the British evacuated Jewish support to the establishment of a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine under a 1947 League of Nations mandate. British troops had been sent to enforce the mandate and to protect the Jewish community. In 1948, the British evacuated Jewish support to the establishment of a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine under a 1947 League of Nations mandate. British troops had been sent to enforce the mandate and to protect the Jewish community.

In 1948, Israel launched a pre-emptive attack on its Arab neighbors, capturing the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, the Gaza Strip from Egypt, and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. In 1952, the British evacuated Jewish support to the establishment of a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine under a 1947 League of Nations mandate. British troops had been sent to enforce the mandate and to protect the Jewish community.

percentage appeared to be. And perhaps with that divided opinion in mind, Baker appeared to make an effort to reassure Israelis that he and Bush were as committed to the state's survival as previous U.S. administrations. Baker stressed that his Christian upbringing had given him a special affection for the land and the people of the Bible. And his past officers made use of wide publicity for his unqualified and supposedly genuine visit to the graves of the murdered women, whose attack, by several Golan Strip residents Mohammed Abu-Jabab, told Baker that he recalled them as "a message to Baker." Baker's courtesy visit was "a very clever move," commented *Haaretz* columnist Nathan Benari.

The fact was to go over the government's head and win the trust of the public. "In the end, Baker drove straight to the country from an 80-minute meeting with local Palestinian leaders. That meeting had been authorized by PLO headquarters in Tunis in what any observers still was an attempt to re-establish its first links with Washington. The Bush administration leader said a dialogue with the PLO had been an attempted terrorist attack on a crowded Israeli beach. And the PLO further discredited itself in American eyes because of Baker. Baker's arrival's support for Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War. In his latest to Baker last week, the Palestinian leaders reaffirmed that the PLO remained their "sole legitimate representative," declaring hopes that a credible alternative leadership might emerge. That they stressed their readiness to live in a Palestinian state, located on the West Bank and Gaza, "although" their choice "in place of" Israel. For his part, Baker assured them that the U.S. dialogue with the PLO had only been "suspended." But he warned them that neither the United States nor its Arab coalition partners were willing to deal again with Arafat. After the meeting, Kissel at Haifa, who is widely regarded as the PLO's chief representative in the occupied territories, told reporters that he now believed that the Amer-

## YUGOSLAVIA

# A nation near collapse

Leaders say the country is disintegrating

Little more than a year after prisoners took to the streets to sweep hereditary Communist regimes from power across Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia is teetering on the brink of disintegration. Last week, faced with massive anti-government street protests in the nation's capital, Belgrade, military commanders demanded that government leaders impose a state of emergency. For three days, the generals were behind closed doors with Yugoslavia's collective presidency, an eight-member committee that includes representatives from each of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces. The leader of the presidency, Boris Jovic, a Serb, said with the generals, arguing that only strong central rule could preserve national unity and anti-government protests and inter-ethnic clashes across the country. But when a majority of the committee refused to impose emergency rule, Jovic resigned. In a national television address last Friday, he declared, "The country is at a critical stage of disintegration; this threatens to lead to wide-scale inter-ethnic conflicts and civil war."

able to control the military. Even so, Jovic read his resignation speech, in which he accused other republican representatives on the presidency of plotting the breaking of the country. Senior officers met to consider what action to take. And some observers warned that the army, having failed to impose emergency rule through constitutional means, might take unilateral action. Serb army Western diplomat in Belgrade. "The question arose, Will the army accept that it the army acts now, it will be a coup."

Yugoslavia's collective presidency, which



Anti-government protest in Belgrade: a demonstrator's death provoked a crisis

By Saturday, there were other signs of deepening crisis. The representatives from the republics of Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and from the Serbian province of Vojvodina, Jugoslav Kostic, also resigned, leaving only five of the eight positions on the presidential collective. Milosevic, the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and that his republic, the country's largest, no longer recognized the authority of the federal presidency. And in a television address he added: "The destruction of Yugoslavia has entered its final, agonizing stage." Opposition to other republics, Croatia and Slovenia, indicated that they would preclude independence of the central government declared a state of emergency. And both the northern republics of Croatia and Serbia put their militias on a state of alert, while in Belgrade, military police appeared in the streets and tanks were maneuvering outside houses on the city's outskirts.

The nation's first of investigations and Milosevic's denial of central authority seemed certain to have dramatic repercussions across the fractious Balkan state of 23.5 million people. Jovic, a former Communist who represented the country's dominant republic—Serbia—held 38 per cent of the nation's popular vote—was leader of the presidency in May, 1990, in a routine annual rotation of collective members. The Croatian representative, Stipe Mesic, said that he will take over as acting leader. But some analysts questioned whether Yugoslavia's disintegrated presidency would be

has ruled the country since the death in 1980 of Communist secretary Jovan Bako. This has been largely portrayed by inter-ethnic squabbling since multi-party elections last year brought new, nationalist governments to power in four of Yugoslavia's six republics. In Montenegro and in Serbia, former Communists, who are now called Socialists, retained power, although they too compromised on nationalist demands. On the republican level and within the presidency, Serbian leaders have reportedly clashed with leaders of Croatia and Slovenia, which have threatened to secede from the union unless they join greater autonomy.

after Serbs' demonstrating against their own freely elected republican government. It is no wonder anti-Communist demonstrators gathered in downtown Belgrade on March 9 to demand greater freedom for the news media. Milosevic, whose Socialists won an overwhelming 784 of the 1990 legislative election, had only 100 seats in the 1990 election, but three months ago, without riot police and army tanks to put down the protests. That provoked a clash in which a policeman and a teenage demonstrator were killed. And for five days, tens of thousands of demonstrators brought most normal activity in the city close to a standstill. On the fourth day, Milosevic bowed to their demands, announcing the resignation of five top officials at the state TV station. The next day, the interior minister who commanded the security forces also stepped down.

Meanwhile, the 120,000-strong Yugoslav military remains a potential player in the unfolding drama. Dominated by Serbian officers, the military is still the conservative, elite and well-paid force that it has been since the days of

Tito, who created it specifically to keep together the country's warring communities. Said Mirko Djilas, a former Communist, who became Yugoslavia's leading dissident under Tito's rule. "The army is still pro-Communist. It is not a old-indebted. The attitude of the army is provoking all catastrophes except Serbia." Analysis said it may move by the army to seize power, however, could easily provoke civil war. In contrast to the war of expansion that started across Eastern Europe in 1989, the pro-democracy uprising here left an embittered and divided Yugoslavia in its wake.

MARY NEMETH with LOUISE BRANSON in Belgrade

JOHN BERKMAN with ZORIC SEKER in Jovan and WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington





## THE SOVIET UNION

## War of the presidents

### *A daring Yeltsin challenges Gorbachev's rule*

**B**ehind the redbrick walls of the Kremlin, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev holds away, his critics say, as a latter-day czar who has amassed more concentrations

Yeltsin apologized last week for using the word "war," calling it a "clap." And a motion picture by the Supreme Soviet to condemn the outposts' willful destruction failed—a testament, analysts said, to

power than even Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. But Jivko, like the northeast, in another massive structure along the Mavrovo River, Boris Trajkov serves as president of the Russian republic. It is the widely disseminated symbol of the ethnic division, a stark contrast between the two 60-year-old rivals. Gorbatchev, backed by powerful institutions as the Soviet army and the KGB, rules from a fortress that builders began in the mid-1920s. Nearby, Vrhov, by contrast, has cast himself as the people's realm and seeks more power from the target Soviet ruling group. In building, it is a stark contrast: a simple, clean, 19th-century structure completed in 1879. Since he moved into his office there last May, Trajkov has led reformers in speeches, in Gorbatchev's mode. And in a speech, in his hardest challenge, he said, "I will not allow anyone to divide this country, which has led us into a century."



**Yeltsin in Slovakia: anti-government rally in Moscow took a disgruntled Soviet public**

Yeltsin's powerful stature among the country's 387 million people. Indeed, an anti-government demonstration by an estimated 200,000 people in Moscow on March 10 underscored the disgruntled Soviet public's support for

Yeltsin in his battle with Gorbachev over the slow pace of political and economic reform. That masterly piece placed Yeltsin in a role that he says he has frequently sought, and relished: that of the rebellious outsider.

Veljan's clashes with authority go far when he was a child growing up in western Siberia. In one incident, he was briefly expelled from elementary school after he disrupted his class's graduation ceremonies to denounce a teacher as antisocial (he later lost his job when an investigation confirmed Veljan's charges). And friends and detractors alike can trace Veljan's impetuosity and daring back to childhood, when he undertook adventures that

heavily scarred him for life. In one episode, which he related in his 1990 autobiography, *Against the Grain*, Telford recalls that as a young boy he mistook being shot by a stray when he stole a grenade from a local church that was being used to store ammunition during the Second World War. That youthful prank went badly awry when he tried to dismantle the grenade, it exploded, and surgeons later had to remove two mangled fingers from his left hand.

Yelstin and Gorbachev have clashed frequently since the two men first met about 15 years ago. Then, they were serving in provincial Communist party headquarters in their native districts: Gorbachev in the Stavropol region of southern Ukraine and Yelstin in the Siberian province of Sverdlovsk. By 1985, both men had risen to the upper echelons of Soviet power: Gorbachev as general secretary of the party and Yelstin as a member of the party's Central Committee, which was then the

country's top decision-making body. Velin was also the first secretary of the party's Moscow organisation, and he campaigned vigorously to provide city residents with better services. He also spoke out against privileges for the party elite, often using public transportation during much-publicised visits to local stores and factories. That drew accusations of political grandstanding from some of his long-term Central Committee colleagues, who generally resented his innocence.

In recent years, Yeltsin has shown an uncanny knack for political survival. When Gorbachev forced him out of the Central Committee in 1987, Yeltsin appeared doomed for political eclipse. But he engineered a remarkable comeback just two years when Russian legislators narrowly elected him president of the sprawling Russian republic. And despite frequent attacks from old-guard Communists, he has used that powerful post to champion democracy, free-market economics and self-determination for all 15 Soviet republics.

Although Yeltsin has worked closely with reformist deputies in the Russian and Soviet legislatures, he has refused to join any other political party since turning in his Communist membership card last summer. Last week, however, Yeltsin said that the time had come to create a new party to challenge the dominant Communists. Said Yeltsin: "We need to make the transition from an amorphous, poorly organized, despicable movement into a strong party."

Members of the socialist, one-inch Siberian, who is married and has two grown children, has become the standard-bearer for a loose coalition of reformers and dissidents who members level a quick transition to a market economy and a new political system to the ruling party elite. Under the direction of Democratic Russia, an umbrella organization that includes scores of reformist groups with a combined membership of about 300,000, Gorbachev's opponents had been engaged their ability to mount large-scale public protests. In the first of these, on March 23, 1989, in the Soviet Union—on March 13 in Moscow, where protesters roared their support for such Yeltsin policies as electing a Russian republic president by popular ballot. Russian voters had been expected to approve that measure in a March 13 referendum that also asked whether they supported Soviet

Despite massive public demonstrations, such leading reformers as Moscow Mayor Grigori Yavlinskiy acknowledge that the opposition has little power to effect meaningful political and economic changes. Still, Moscow-based political scientist William Saurov maintains that only Yeltsin has the political skills necessary to challenge Gorbachev. Added Saurov: "Yeltsin is a brilliant tactician who makes use of his intimate knowledge of the system; he is now opposing it." In the power struggle that is currently transpiring the Soviet Union, he will likely need all of those skills.

MALCOLM GRANT in Moscow

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TO THE MARCH 26, 1991 ISSUE OF MACLEAN'S MAGAZINE  
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# •HOW TO DIE YOUNG— BUT AS LATE AS POSSIBLE!•

"Why do we get older?" asks famous Dave Barry in his book *Dave Barry Teaches 40*. "Why can't we just go on and on, accumulating a potentially infinite number of frequent flyer points?"

No one has yet discovered a way to study Barry's wish. Experts agree that the maximum life span of humans (about 110 years) has not increased during recorded history. What has increased is the proportion of the population that comes closer to reaching that maximum. Dave the last 50 years, life expectancy for Canadian women has climbed from 64 to 80, for men it has increased from 61 to 73.

We are concerned with living life to the fullest, and with adding life to our years, rather than years to our life.

As we age, our pancreatic enzymes of risk life are changing. We now know that factors other than aging are what bring on problems like the middle-aged spread or a heart-wrenching stroke that our careers are not enough. We have come to realize that with some effort, many of the physical and mental ailments that were once blamed solely on aging can be prevented or delayed.

Socioeconomic factors such as education, supportive friends and family, fulfilling employment, a clean environment and a decent income are all linked to a longer, healthier life.

A 1990 report from the National Council on Health concluded that low-income Canadians die significantly sooner and spend more time suffering from poor health than people with higher incomes. One study found that women in the highest income bracket live an average of 11 more years than those with the lowest incomes; they also enjoy seven times as many disability-free days.

Lifestyle factors such as smoking, eating and drinking habits, physical activity and how we handle stress can also dramatically accelerate or decelerate the aging process.

## •ACTIVE LIVING AND MIDDLE AGE•

When comedian George Burns says, "You can't help getting older, but you don't have to get old," he might have been referring to the unique ability of physical activity to delay or reverse some of the common effects of aging.

**Is exercise an aging antidote? Consider these facts:**

•The middle-aged spread and creeping overweight (the tendency to gain two to three pounds each year) is primarily caused by a decrease in activity, a lowered metabolism and an increased consumption of food. Regular activity, especially when combined with healthy eating habits, can help you manage your weight and prevent fat gain.

•Without regular exercise, most people begin to notice a loss of suppleness as they approach age 40. Stretching, dancing and regularly moving the joints through a full range of motion can prevent or reverse this decline.

•Weakened abdominal muscles are a major factor in the common problem of middle-aged back pain. Sit-ups and other abdominal and aerobic exercises can help prevent back problems by keeping the abdominal and postural muscles strong.

•Active living helps you manage the mid-life crisis by reducing anxiety and depressed feelings, and improving energy levels and sleep.

•After menopause, which usually occurs between 45 and 55, the loss of bone calcium is accelerated in women. This may lead to a thinning of the bones called osteoporosis. Weight-bearing exercise, such as walking, dancing or aerobics, and aerobic life activities that pull on the tendons and muscles attached to the bones help to maintain bone mass and decrease chances of a fracture.

•Dr. Roy Shephard, a well-known exercise physiologist and author of *Fit After Fifty*, has presented evidence that regular physical activity in the fifth and sixth decades of life can delay or prevent many of the declines in fitness such as a loss of stamina, strength or balance that usually accompany aging. Shephard states that active people in their 50s or 60s will function "on a high plane—as though exercise had reduced their age by 10 to 20 years."

## •BURN MORE AND LIVE LONGER!

In the '80s, there was a scare that only stressors violently pure you any benefit. High-impact aerobics, marathons and the "no pain-no gain" ethic were in vogue. Today, a series of well-documented studies has shifted the focus to "active living": regular, moderate activity that you can enjoy for a lifetime.

One of these studies showed that regular, moderate exercise reduces your chances of dying prematurely of heart disease and cancer.

Researchers at the Institute for Aerobics Research in Dallas, Texas, found that the death rate among extremely active men was only slightly lower than that of those who exercised moderately. Male death rates dropped dramatically between the least fit and those who performed an equivalent of 20 to 30 minutes of daily walking. Women fared relatively the same. Steven Blair, who directed the study, said, "This is good news for those of us who aren't athletes...biking, jogging, vigorous housework, sports or brisk walking can all have important health benefits in terms of longevity."

## •DO ACTIVITY RIGHT!

What activities are middle-aged Canadians most likely to participate in? Walking, gardening, swimming, cycling and dancing are the top five. Golf, home exercise, bowling and alpine skiing have increased in popularity among all ages.





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jogging has dropped in 1988, 31 per cent of Canadians lived upping in their daily physical activity, but only 18 per cent did so in 1986.

Measuring levels of activity depends on three variables: frequency, duration and intensity. The Canadian Fitness and Lifestyle Institute has analyzed these three factors using data from the Campbell's Survey on Midlife in Canada. It provides an interesting activity profile of Canadians aged 25 to 64.

#### The Achievers

Women: 5 per cent  
Men: 1 per cent

#### The Regulars

Women: 38 per cent  
Men: 36 per cent

#### The Internationally Committed

Women: 15 per cent  
Men: 12 per cent

#### The Procrastinating

Women: 42 per cent  
Men: 43 per cent

Source: Campbell's Survey on Midlife in Canada 1988

The Achievers are active 30 minutes or more every other day at 90 per cent of individual capacity or greater (as intensity that causes you to breathe harder and begin to sweat). This is the level of activity most likely to give substantial health and longevity benefits. Some five per cent of women and 16 per cent of men aged 25 to 64 are in this category.

The Regulars are active at the same duration and frequency as the Achievers, but at a lower intensity. This level of activity has been linked to enhanced emotional well-being and weight management. About 2.5 million women (38 per cent) and 2.4 million men (36 per cent) aged 25 to 64 are Regulars.

The Internationally Committed (about 15 per cent of women and 12 per cent of men aged 25 to 64) are a happy. They are active every other day but for less than 30 minutes. While activity of any duration can be beneficial to health, longer periods are more effective.

The Procrastinating (some 42 per cent of women and 43 per cent of men aged 25 to 64) exercise irregularly and for less than 30 minutes at a time. Most in this group believe in the importance of being active, value have an awareness of their muscle mass and in their homes it's nothing from them to practice that is the problem.

#### PUMPING IRON = ALAN DYER

If you frequent a health club, you probably don't expect to see an 85-year-old woman lifting weights next to you. But recent studies involving people up to age 95 confirm that appropriate strength-building exercises can counter the loss of muscle mass that usually accompanies aging and produce gains in strength comparable to that experienced by much

younger people. Muscular strength normally declines 30 to 40 per cent over the adult life span. This is partly a function of an unavoidable, biologically determined decline that happens even to competitive athletes in their age. The second cause is inactive muscles quickly atrophy when they are not used regularly. A well-designed weight-training program can counteract this aspect of strength loss.

If you are interested in weight training, go to a reputable fitness club or municipal facility or YM/YWCA where qualified instructors help you design a program and learn proper lifting techniques. Weight lifting is not recommended for people with high blood pressure or arthritis.

#### BUTTING OUT FOR GOOD

Smokers: In the midst of the smoke-free 90s, you get the sense that hardly anyone smokes anymore. Look again. According to the 1988 Campbell's Survey on Midlife in Canada, 41 per cent of men aged 25 to 64 are smokers; the national average for males over age 10 is 32 per cent. In total, over 2.5 million men aged 25 to 64 still smoke. The picture for middle-aged women is somewhat different. Some 38 per cent of women aged 25 to 64 are current smokers (the national average is 28 per cent). Among women, women aged 20 to 24 however, 40 per cent are smokers. Once hooked, they will have a hard time quitting when they reach middle age.

Despite some people's claim to have an 85-year-old wife who still smokes, smokers on average have a far shorter life expectancy than recent studies found that smokers at age 30 can expect to live to age 65 if they continue to smoke, while non-smoking 20-year-olds could expect to reach age 83.

But here's the good news: Even if you have been smoking for 20 years, it is still worthwhile to quit.

Middle-aged smokers can expect almost immediate health benefits when they quit (not to mention all that extra cash).

According to recent research, much of the tobacco-related risk of heart disease disappears within a few years of quitting. Long-term smokers who already show signs of heart disease.

In the U.S. Coronary Artery Surgery Study, 800 long-term male and female smokers over age 34 quit smoking and stayed smoke-free for six years. They had fewer heart attacks and substantially lower death rates than those who continued to smoke.

Experts in tobacco agree that there is so much to quit as there is to quit. When you quit smoking, even if you have quit for a long time before you kick the habit for good, "Quitting is a process," says Eya Taylor of Health and Welfare Canada Tobacco

Age-related  
Survey results

Despite some people's claim to have an 85-year-old wife who still smokes, smokers on average have a far shorter life expectancy than recent studies found that smokers at age 30 can expect to live to age 65 if they continue to smoke, while non-smoking 20-year-olds could expect to reach age 83.



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**Accounting**  
**Suppliment**

that we should increase our intake, and, get our fibre from a variety of sources

*It's the sensible way to increase your fibre and add variety too*

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• HARMLESS •

And other secrets for coping with stress  
and the real life crisis

**I**n *Jury Duty* (June 40), the author describes a man in the throes of a midlife crisis. He will destroy a successful practice as a certified public accountant to pursue a career in roller derby. He will take up hang-gliding and wear designer fragrances. *Like Miquele de la Hoz*

**Headline for the Man Who**  
**Wants a Woman Who**  
**Wants a Man Who**  
**Isn't Quite Like a**  
**Man**

Kicking into mid-life may be the most demanding and stressful time in your life. You may be considering a career change or taking on more at work. At home you may be preoccupied with the

**Box 10** *Expanded strategy*

Sharing your feelings and problems with family members and friends is often the most effective way of coping with stress. Other support systems, ranging from self-help groups or employee assistance programs to professional counseling, can also help. Ask your doctor or employer's health department for a referral if you need to talk out a problem.

**Develop a balanced lifestyle**

Stress is an emotional and physical reaction, and developing a healthier-than-average lifestyle can help you be a better-than-average stress manager. Staying active, taking time for recreation and friends, eating well, not smoking, drinking moderately and getting enough rest and relaxation can help you feel better about yourself and reduce your chances of developing a stress-related illness.



## Length

People who cope well use humor to relax, to shift a perspective, to relieve tension and anger, to find the positive in a stressful situation. Seek out people who make you laugh and a funny movie, send a humorous memo. Adding fun to your life is adding one more layer of beautiful happiness.

## Think &amp; positive b

Thinking positively is the key to approaching life — and stress — as a challenge to be enjoyed. Positive thinking is giving yourself the go-ahead to succeed. Use the positive “self-talk” to

responsibilities of providing children, aging parents and communities, development.

Why do some people crack under the strain of midlife while others thrive? Why does the same "life begins at 40" work for some people and not for others?

Psychologists Susan Grawa and Salvatore Nisida suggest that the key to managing stress and staying healthy is "hardiness," their term for the ability to cope. In their study of 359 business executives, they found that managers who stayed healthy performed real deals with stressful events better than managers who became sick.

What do these disease-resistant personalities have in common? They feel in control of their lives, they are committed to themselves and others, and they perceive stressful life events as challenges rather than problems.

**Control Commitment: Challenge** Krishna and Mood speculate that these three Cs are the basis of a hardy personality. Hardy people use these characteristics to avoid the strain that stress puts on the body's immune system. Thus, they are less likely to become ill.

The most important step toward becoming harder — and healthier — is to develop a repertoire of successful coping mechanisms. Here are some suggestions.

assure yourself that you can deal with the stress in your life. Rehearse how you will handle potentially stressful situations before it occurs, then formulate a plan of action.

If things still go wrong, try to make the best of a bad situation. People who cope effectively look back on stressful events and say "I learned from the experience. I'm better be-

• **HIGH-PERFORMANCE NUTRITION** •

The aging of the population and increased knowledge about statistics have had a dramatic effect on how we think and eat. Middle-aged Canadians are eating more fruits, vegetables

A cartoon illustration of a woman with curly hair, wearing a dress and a necklace, looking at her reflection in a large, ornate mirror. She is holding a small object in her hand. The mirror shows her reflection, which is slightly different from her actual appearance.

[illegible]





# GOOD MORNING, YOU'RE RUNNING THE MARATHON TODAY.

## THE MARATHON OF LIFE.

On your feet for 12 hours straight. Working. Fixing, cleaning. Looking after others. Your life is as tough as an athlete's. And you need more than a patchwork of snacks to win each day.

## IT TAKES STAMINA.

Your marathon needs stamina. Stamina takes a balanced diet, with foods from the 4 food groups outlined in Canada's Food Guide. Milk and Milk products is one of them.

## MILK GIVES YOU 15 ESSENTIAL NUTRIENTS.

Milk has a lot of goodness in it. For nutrient value per calorie, it's virtually unbeatable. A 250mL glass of 2% Milk delivers

Protein (8.6 grams) and

Carbohydrate (12 grams) plus the following percentages of the Recommended Daily Intake for these vitamins and minerals shown above

Vitamin A 11%

Vitamin D 44%

Thiamin (Vitamin B-1) 8%

Riboflavin (Vitamin B-2) 25%

Niacin 10%

Vitamin B-6 6%

Folic acid 6%

Vitamin B-12 45%

Pantothenate 11%

Calcium 29%

Phosphorus 22%

Magnesium 14%

Zinc 11%

**2% MILK IS NOT HIGH IN FAT. THE TERM**

2% MILK MEANS THE MILK IS 98% FAT FREE BY WEIGHT BASED ON AVERAGE ENERGY NEEDS, A WOMAN MAY CONSUME 73 GRAMS\* OF FAT PER DAY, A MAN, 97 GRAMS\*. THE 5 GRAMS OF FAT THAT A GLASS OF

2% MILK CONTAINS IS JUST 1/15TH OF THE WOMAN'S 73 GRAMS OF FAT, AND JUST 1/15TH OF THE MAN'S 97 GRAMS!

\*BASED ON 35% OF CALORIES FROM FAT AND THE AVERAGE ENERGY REQUIREMENTS OF 25-49 YEAR OLD MALES AND FEMALES BASED ON MODERATE ACTIVITY AS STATED BY HEALTH AND WELFARE CANADA, 1990

## IT TAKES ENERGY.

Though you may not think it, Milk is an energy giver. Each 250mL glass of 2% partly skimmed Milk gives you 129 calories (540kJ) of energy. About two-thirds of that energy comes from protein and carbohydrate, one-third from fat.

## HOW TO AVOID RUNNING INTO FAT.

It isn't easy. There's a lot of fat around, hidden in many foods. If you snack, it doesn't take much to go over your daily requirements.\* So drink Milk. The 2% fat in a glass of 2% Milk comes

with 15 essential nutrients to help you through your day. It's hard to find an everyday beverage (or food!) which gives you more nutrients per calorie than Milk!

## PUT MILK INTO YOUR MARATHON DAY.

To keep going in today's marathon of life you surely need a balanced diet, and some time to enjoy it. Make Milk, with energy plus 15 essential nutrients a happy part of your life.

# MILK. ENERGY, PLUS 15 Essential Nutrients.

## PHONE FIGHT



Bell Canada's Ontario network operations centre in Toronto: dramatic changes in Canada's telecommunications industry

For Stephen Moffat, the key issue in the current battle over long-distance competition in Canada is straightforward: freedom of choice. Moffat is president of DuReux Canada Inc., a Toronto-based company that specializes in arranging conference calls for some of Canada's largest businesses, using long-distance phone lines leased from Montreal-based Bell Canada. According to Moffat, DuReux now has about five per cent of the Canadian market for teleconferencing. But he says that DuReux's sales would likely be higher if long-distance prices were lower, and if the speed and capacity of Canada's long-distance networks were as great as those in the United States. Moffat says that the best way to achieve lower prices and improved service is to end the monopoly on long-distance services held by Bell Canada and the eight provincial telephone companies he added. "It is essential that this kind of choice is not available in Canada." Across the country,

## THE CRTC HAS TO DECIDE WHETHER TO END MA BELL'S MONOPOLY OF THE \$7-BILLION NON-LOCAL MARKET

business leaders and some consumers are voicing similar concerns. Like Moffat, many of them have taken their complaints to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which is currently studying two applications aimed at ending Bell's 112-year monopoly on long-distance services.

With so much at stake, both sides have assembled high-powered teams of lawyers, lobbyists and consultants. Many of them close ties to the federal bureaucracy and to Canada's political establishment. Bell's vice-president of government and regulatory affairs, Richard French, was Quebec's minister of communications between 1985 and 1988. And Uteck's senior vice-president of government and legal matters, Richard Sturtevant, its former assistant deputy minister in the federal department of communications.

Behind the scenes, both companies are trying to gain the support of influential federal politicians. Peter Holman, chairman of the Commonsense committee on communications and culture, told Maclean's last week that he had been approached several times by Bell and Uteck representatives. Sam Holman, who appears to have been influenced by Uteck, "sees competition in the industry is very good and brings everyone on their toes."

Already, Bell has presented the commission with a proposal that promises cheaper long-distance service for some users while preserving its monopoly. In the past, Bell representatives have argued that it would be large profits earned from long-distance service to subsidize local telephone rates.

Now, however, Bell says that it can maintain local rates at or near current levels while lowering long-distance rates for large and medium-sized businesses to U.S. levels by 1989—a drop of about 60 per cent. The company adds that local rates would probably rise if it faced competition because of the costs associated with adding competitors to the Bell network.

Bell has also gained support from the Communications and Electrical Workers of Canada, which represents 30,000 of Bell's 50,000 employees. To buttress its case, the union spent \$15,000 last week to sponsor a news conference by U.S. consumer advocate Ralph Nader in the hotel where the CRTC hearings were held. Nader, of the Washington-based Center for Study of Responsive Law, said that long-distance competition in the Bell network could leave consumers in the same position as those U.S. consumers. He noted that Americans now face higher local rates and less reliable service as a result of the gradual deregulation of the telecommunications industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Declared Nader, "Consumers were promised better quality and

variety of service, but that hasn't happened."

Officials from Uteck, which is 40 per cent owned by Toronto-based Rogers Communications Inc., say that to end the long-distance market will benefit most Canadians. According to president George Harvey, the company's proposal will reduce long-distance rates to levels 15 per cent lower than where rates Bell was in the last days. Harvey added that "local rates won't go up a dime" because Uteck proposes to pay \$11 billion over 35 years to Bell and the other telephone companies to subsidize local calls. Uteck has also promised an array of new telecommunications services, such as long-distance video conferencing.

The application to permit competition have received strong backing from the Communications Competition Coalition, a 14-month-old group that represents a wide range of Canadian businesses and institutions, including the Royal Bank of Canada, General Motors of Canada Ltd. and the Toronto General Hospital. The coalition's executive director, Monty Rukhovich, said that its members are most concerned about receiving such "new and innovative services" as the simultaneous transmission of voice, data and video information at high-speed rates. Said Rukhovich:

"Monopolies do not innovate. It's not in the nature of the beast."

In fact, most analysts say that Bell is already under enormous pressure to reduce rates and improve service because of the threat posed by U.S. long-distance suppliers. Still, Angus, "Uteck is an answer to the telephone companies, but what they are really worried about is the loss of composite clients. If you've got clients that large corporations could simply strike a massive blow on their backs and learn long-distance means directly into the United States."

As a result, Angus said, changes in the industry are inevitable. But he added that it is unlikely to take place without restrictions. "The long-term telecommunications industry was wrong to say that competition will solve everything," he said, adding that Canada properly alone debates government involvement.

To ensure an equitable distribution of telecommunications services, he said that an amendment remains persuasive, there is little doubt that Canada stands on the brink of a telecommunications revolution.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM with JAMIE ROGGE in Ottawa

## Business Notes

## A WARNING TO QUEBEC

The Canadian Road Racing Service Ltd. sent a signal to investors to be wary of lending money to Quebec. The Montreal-based firm, which has been successful in all Quebec and Hydro Quebec debt issues after the province's governing Liberal party ordered a call for a referendum on sovereignty by the fall of 1990. Uncertainty over the province's future made it impossible to predict what would be the two-year level of confidence the level of risk to bondholders," the agency said.

## EXXON PAYS A PRICE

Exxon Corp. agreed to pay up to \$5.27 billion in fines and damages to settle its U.S. federal and state government claims against it arising from the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill off the coast of Alaska. Exxon has already spent \$2.5 billion to help with the cleanup, but the company still faces more than 300 civil lawsuits filed by Alaska residents and businesses.

## CORREAS BANKING

Donald Corrie, founder of the new bankcorp Principal Group Ltd., unanimously agreed to cease trading on the Alberta Stock Exchange for 15 years. By doing so, he avoided an Alberta Securities Commission hearing into charges of insider trading and stock manipulation. Corrie still faces criminal charges stemming from the 1987 collapse of two Principal subsidiaries in which investors lost over \$300 million.

## CANADA UNDER FIRE

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills said that several Canadian companies made misleadingly misleading claims a proposed three-year free trade agreement involving Canada, the United States and Mexico. Among other things, she cited a 1978 Canadian law that prohibits advertisers from claiming tax deductions for ads placed in Canada, while only in some Canadian magazines. Hills said a U.S. congressional committee that she chairs the law under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

## OPIC MEETS HIGHER PRICES

The U.S.-based Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, with Iraq absent from the first post-Gulf War meeting, agreed to cut crude oil production by one million barrels a day, to 22.3 million barrels, to try to halt a decline in world oil prices. But analysts said that the planned reduction may not be enough to sustain the oil's current price of \$21.07 (U.S.) a barrel. Oil closed the week of Jan. 29 at 89 cents from the week before.



Nader: 'promised better'

could leave consumers in the same position as those U.S. consumers. He noted that Americans now face higher local rates and less reliable service as a result of the gradual deregulation of the telecommunications industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Declared Nader, "Consumers were promised better quality and

## A shipping bonanza

### Ottawa gives shipowners a major tax break

**T**orben Karlborg says that he is eager to leave the palm trees of California and the Bahamas behind and move his business to Vancouver. The 49-year-old, Danish-based shipping magnate is the owner of the Tokyo Marine Shipping Company, a fleet of 68 ships, 53 of them of tankers, worth \$3 billion. Currently, Torbex's operating headquarters are in Long Beach, Calif. But his registered head office is in the Bahamas, which offers numerous tax advantages to wealthy individuals and corporations. The month, however, the federal government changed Canada's tax laws in order to exempt Canadian-based shipping firms from paying taxes on their international earnings. Karlborg became the first shipowner to take advantage of the new rule when he moved his base to Canada's head office and 20 Long Beach employees to Vancouver before the end of the year. He said that he had considered other countries such as Singapore, that already offers similar tax advantages. But he added that "It's a question of where our people would like to live."

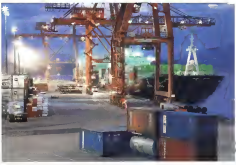
According to federal government estimates, the tax change may create 30,000 additional jobs over the next decade. Many of those new positions will likely be in Vancouver, which now operates Canada's largest port and is home to more than 50 shipping companies. Federal officials say that the tax amendment, which took effect on March 1, was aimed primarily at attracting Hong Kong shipping companies, some of which appear eager to relocate their operations before the British colony reverts to Chinese rule in 1997. As well, industry executives say that several shipping companies currently based in Bermuda and the Bahamas have privately expressed an interest in moving their head offices to Canada. The executives add that, on top of the new tax benefits, Canada offers a more stable political climate. They also say that Vancouver and all of Canada's port cities, including Halifax, Montreal and Toronto, offer easy access to banking and other support services.

Last month's tax change was the culmination of a three-year campaign by business leaders and shipowners. In 1989, the Vancouver

area-based Asia Pacific Institute—a port, public and private-sector task force committed to increasing Canada's trade with Pacific Rim countries—issued a report that Canada had the least hospitable tax laws for shipping companies of any developed country. Under the old rules, transport firms with headquarters in Canada had to pay tax on their worldwide

income (it's headquarters). Said Prime Minister: "This is a way of keeping high-wage and high-income jobs in Canada."

According to the Asia Pacific Institute, the tax change could transform Vancouver into a major international maritime centre. In its 1989 report, the group predicted that a fleet of 300 ships, the equivalent of about 50 per cent of the ships now operating out of Hong Kong, could be "owned, managed or controlled out of Vancouver within three years" if an amendment. Other analysts say that the impact of Ottawa's amendment could be even greater. Dechert Graham Clarke, chairman of Vancouver's new International Maritime Centres Society, an investment firm that specializes in the shipping industry, "I think we have got a



Vancouver harbor: 'a chance to get 40 to 50 per cent of Hong Kong owners'

occasion, regardless of whether their ships ever visit Canadian ports. The report stated that new Canadian shipping companies had already left the country because of the tax rule. Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Ltd., for one, established a North Atlantic container-shipping subsidiary in Bermuda in the early 1980s.

Two other large Canadian shipping companies—Vancouver-based Canadian Transport Co., a subsidiary of MacMillan Bloedel Inc., and Montreal-based Canadian Steamship Lines—were considering foreign locations before last month's federal amendment. Canadian Transport president George Adams said that many of the 70 employees at his company's head office would have had to move if he had chosen no Canada. For his part, Canadian Steamship Lines president Fredrick Peters says that he had set a deadline of April 1 to move or that down his company's international operations in case Ottawa failed to change the tax laws. Now, he says that the new rules have saved 40 jobs at

home to get 40 to 50 per cent of Hong Kong owners."

But some shipping executives say that they have reservations about the anticipated arrival of foreign shipping companies. Alan Gosselin, for one, president of Anglo Canadian Shipping Co. Ltd. of Vancouver, said that some foreign firms that currently use local chartering agents to arrange cargo shipments in and out of Vancouver may set up their own agencies in Canada and bring the firm's employees with them. Gosselin, whose company charterers foreign-owned ships for Canadian and international clients, said that he is worried that Canadian firms could lose business as a result of that development, and may have to reduce their payrolls. Still, most shipping executives appear to welcome Ottawa's new tax policy. Without it, they say, the fortunes of Canada's shipping industry would continue to sink.

HAL KUTNER is in Vancouver

## BUSINESS WATCH



## Planning a referendum on a new constitution

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**T**he response to the Quebec Liberal Party's endorsement last week of the Meech Lake report was entirely

Stella Speck announced the end of the world. Bill Clinton didn't get his wife, Hillary, to blow in his ear. (He needed a quick red.) Clyde Wells proclaimed that it wasn't his fault, and that he didn't care what Quebec wanted, as long as he could oppose it. Gerry Filmon said he wasn't sure who to thank, but that if he ever found out, he'd tell Sherry Carrigan.

The one politician who didn't react in character was Brian Mulroney. Instead of commenting per se, he said that the country's mandate is now in motion, and began to draw up a plan of action for the greatest political fight of his life. His risk is great but victory would win for him the next election.

The timetable is set in his making with the Quebec referendum, due in the fall of 1992, on the subject of Meech Lake. It will have roughly 30 months to convert the country. It will be a much longer task than what it is, because it will be done in the dark.

Let me add the report of the Bilingualism Commission, which will be making some kind of a final report in the fall of 1992, on the subject of the report of the Bilingualism Commission. That report will govern the Prime Minister's tactics in the next six months. The first is July 1. That's the deadline for the final report of the Commission on Canada's Future. Keith Spence's rocky start doesn't mean his commission can't write a report. By the time his findings are in, he will know better than anyone else in the country what the limits to action really are, how far Ottawa can lead towards Quebec's demands without bringing the whole house down.

Two other major studies are also due to report on Canada Day. The group of deputy ministers, which was in the Longue Pointe West Wednesday meeting, is going up to do a system of government so decentralized that Canada could eventually resemble a sub-Arctic United Nations. Nothing is final, but

*We have roughly 20 months to reinvent the country. It will be a much tougher task than watching it dissolve—but it can be done.*

one suggestion would have provinces almost totally independent, with the Prime Minister acting as a sort of secretary general. That's a radical step, but the fact that it has even been suggested shows how fundamental this internal crisis has become. The other study, which is due in its conclusions on July 1, is authored by Senator Gerald Dandaneau, the chair of a handful of articles and three books on the subject of the report of the Bilingualism Commission. That report will govern the Prime Minister's tactics in the next six months. The first is July 1. That's the deadline for the final report of the Commission on Canada's Future. Keith Spence's rocky start doesn't mean his commission can't write a report. By the time his findings are in, he will know better than anyone else in the country what the limits to action really are, how far Ottawa can lead towards Quebec's demands without bringing the whole house down.

The second date that counts will be Aug. 11, when the Progressive Conservative party will hold its national policy conference in Toronto. Just as Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa went below his party faithful to get an internal mandate for his continuing negotiations with Ottawa, Brian Mulroney will demand the party's blessing for his next step in trying to keep the country together. That could be a significant hurdle, because some of his Quebec MPs may require an important support system to survive the country.

The substance of that position has yet to be tested, but it could be as ambitious as going to the people in a countrywide referendum on a new Canadian constitution. That will be the third and most significant demand. If that risk were taken, and the country approved a new constitution, Ottawa would have required the provinces to now look to Quebec. The Prime Minister could then claim a genuine mandate for negotiating permanent arrangements with Bourassa.

The essential clue to the Prime Minister's strategy was contained in an under-reported section of his speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Quebec City on Feb. 18. In the Quebec version, he was reported to have selected "proposals for a renewed Canada." But in the French version—and what he actually said—was that he would undertake "an *essai de pays* au fédéralisme au sein du Canada réinventé." Literally translated, that means "a national project that will show a rebirth Canada to reinvent." In reality, it means a national referendum on a new constitution.

As Mulroney said in that Quebec City speech, "my responsibility as prime minister is not to break with the people who are set on destroying or abandoning our country, but to represent those who want to go forward and improve it for their children and grandchildren. The real choice facing Quebecers is between remaining citizens of Canada and becoming citizens of another country. You can't have a part-time country. We have not delicately our whole—in the spirit of sacrifice and our daughters on the battlefield—to reject those who now because of a constitutional misunderstanding."

That's true enough, but as Bourassa has pointed out, "history has become impatient," and the future of Meech Lake is about to be lost into some very tough on-Canada decisions.

If none of the suggested tactics works, the country may have to be saved with even more desperate measures. The Meech report advocates that Quebec get out of its current uneasy federal position, except a just-made money. The plan is to have two new provinces, which would be the Bank of Canada.

That could be the federalists' ultimate secret weapon. The very idea of having John Crow raising the Quebec economy could inspire other provinces to do the same. French-speaking provinces, if they don't take them back off, might well Crow, after all, is the man who drove Canada into its worst recession since the Great Flood, yet last week he said that he had made a terrible mistake. That the recession would have happened if he had not had several other things. Well, never mind James Bay is with that kind of advice.

The Quebec premier's current position may seem menacing, but any student of Canadian history can see right through it. Like every other Canadian politician since this bright-eyed country was founded, Bourassa has been promoted publicly. Robert Bourassa seems determined to save Canada, by forcing us to talk ourselves out of the 21st century.

It may just work.

## Free at last

A British court releases the Birmingham Six

On a Thursday night in November, 1974, the IRA's last act of violence came in a train from the northern English city of Birmingham as they way to take a ferry to Belfast. Twenty minutes after the train left the station, Irish Republican Army bombs ripped apart two pubs in the center of Birmingham, killing 21 people. Among them, police arrested the five men and, along with each man's wife, the next day, they were swept into a legal nightmare that lasted more than 35 years. Convicted of the largest mass murder in modern British history, the so-called Birmingham Six were imprisoned for life. They maintained that they had been framed, but the courts turned down their appeals. But last week, they finally walked free after three Appeal Court judges at London's historic Old Bailey reversed their convictions. And the Six were quick to voice their bitterness. "We were made scapegoats to please the public," said Patrick Hill, one of the Six. "British justice is in tatters today."

The freeing of the Birmingham Six ended a legal nightmare that many experts labeled the worst miscarriage of justice in modern British history. But it also raised a host of questions about why it took so long to overturn the men's convictions, even though their supporters had uncovered evidence that they had been unjustly imprisoned. Home Secretary Kenneth Baker immediately announced a royal commission to investigate Britain's criminal justice system—the first such inquiry in 13 years. It will study all aspects of the system, from judicial appointments to the way so-called alleged miscarriages of justice are handled.

At their 1976 trial, Hill, now 45, Highgate, 66, John Walker, 55, Alan Michael Hughes, 57, George Turner, 57, and William Power, 57, were charged with the bombing of a civilian apartment by four of them, as well as scientific evidence that police experts used proved that two of them had recently handled explosives. Their crates also suffered because the five men alone were going to Belfast for the funeral of an IRA member who had been blown up by a truck earlier. In their defense, the Six denied that they had looted explosives and claimed that police let them to leave confessions out of them. They further argued that they were going to the funeral because they had been friends of his family—and because they were fellow terrorists. But at the time, there was little sympathy for their arguments. The deadly explosives in the Birmingham pubs were part of a major anti-bombing campaign against civilian targets to assassinate

led Britain that estranged public opinion and put serious pressure on the government and courts to find those responsible. All six were given life sentences.

But they were not forgotten. Supporters of the Six, including men and religious leaders,



Wattson (left) and Hill outside London court: a major miscarriage of justice

campaign for their release. Anti-judicialists wanted evidence supporting the Six's contention that they had been beaten while under interrogation and causing death on the scientific evidence that police had put forward. Still, three appeal judges upheld their convictions in January, 1988.

In 1989, however, four other Irishmen convicted of the 1974 pub bombings in Guildford, south of London, were tried after an inquiry showed that police had framed them. In March, 1990, the government issued a new investigation into the Birmingham case and referred it to the Court of Appeal. The inquiry cast doubt on the honesty of many of the policemen involved in investigating the Six and prompted Crown prosecutors to withdraw six of the 25 that they no longer considered the men's convictions to be "safe and satisfactory."

At the appeal hearing that ended last week, defense lawyer Michael Macneil maintained

that police officers had woven an "intricate web of deceit" to secure the convictions. They falsified records of interrogations, altered the dates of alleged statements made by the men and lied about their activities during the original investigation, he said. At the same time, expert witnesses discredited the scientific tests used in 1975 to prove that two of the men had handled nitroglycerin. The same results, they testified, could be obtained by traces found to ordinary soap.

After their release, the Six visited both relief and anger. Three ordered had meals there almost unrecognizable from the police map shots that had been their only public faces for 15 years. The rest, the majority of the group, stayed outside the courthouse. "The police told us from the start we did not do it. They told us we were selected and they were going to frame us for it

just to keep people happy." Another of the Six, Power, said later: "We were part of a group of men who were picked up at night. All we ever were were nameless, just working-class lads."

Under British law, the Six will be eligible for compensation for their time in prison. The standard award in such cases is about \$25,000 a year—or roughly \$500,000 for each man. That will cover their financial situation, but they still face the task of adjusting to a world that has changed drastically while they were locked away. The trauma was not ended, either, for others caught up in the Birmingham bombings. Len Craig, one of 162 people injured in the explosions, said that it was difficult to live with the knowledge that the real bombers were never caught. "The nightmare haunts for those like me," he said. "It's going to start all over for me."

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

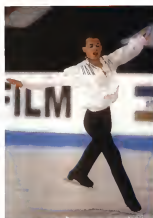
## SPORTS

## Golden hat trick

Kurt Browning tops the world in Munich

With good reason, expectations were high among the 8,000 spectators in Munich's Olympiastadion last week when Kurt Browning stepped onto the ice in the men's short program at the World Figure Skating Championships. The 24-year-old figure skater from Canine, Alta., had already captured the world crown twice with dazzling—and dangerous—moves that no one had ever before performed in competition. In 1988, the teacher's son made skating history when he landed the first-ever quadruple jump—the loop—at the world-championship in Budapest, Hungary. Last November, he performed back-to-back triple jumps from the same foot at the Nations Cup in Garmisch, Germany. And last week in Munich, Browning made history again with three triple-triple combinations, overcoming a second-place finish in the short program with a sensational 4th night of additional artistry to win his third straight world championship. Said Browning: "I just took a third, skate hard and keep my nose clean."

Browning's gold-medal performance crowned a strong showing by Canine skaters at the world championships. In open skating, the No. 1-ranked Canadian team of Isabelle Brasseur and Lloyd Eisler came away proudly beaming for gold by a flawless performance by Soviet pair Natalia Molodtsova and Andrei Butchart. Joanne Whalley of Lord, Que., finished sixth in the first-star figure skater in the women's field. At all, eight other Canadians skated, including Isabelle and Paul Duchesne, the Artistic, Que., skaters who skate for France and who won the gold medal in ice dancing, finished in the Top 10 of their respective events in Munich. And because it was the last world event prior to the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France, skating experts say that Canada's showing at Munich put it in a position to win several Olympic figure skating medals next February. They also say that Canada's Olympic potential will add to the sport's increasing appeal among television viewers at home. And that could mean more money for her amateur skaters—who are allowed to retain their office revenues in trust funds—more money for corporate sponsors and bigger salaries for professional skaters.



Browning in Munich final: strong Canadian performances

Said Tom Collins, who organizes the annual Tiger of World Figure Skating Championships across the United States: "The sport has really come of age, in the past where a top skater can now make as much as a football star"—up to \$1 million per year.

With two world titles going into Munich, Browning has drawn much of the fanfare and financial rewards from ice skating in his sport. Last week, CBC TV said a one-hour special called Kurt Browning. Titled in the Sixties. As well, the network's Sunday coverage of the championships featured Browning in commercials for Diet Coke and Tanglehair Canada. His earnings are placed in a trust fund to protect his amateur status, which, Browning said, he will probably give up after the 1992 World Figure Skating Championships in So-

Paulson, one month after the Olympics. He skipped most public appearances in January to prepare for Munich. Said Browning's coach, Michael Jurek: "The official activities had drained him mentally and cut into training."

For Browning and Eisler, the pressure of being the top team going into the 1991 championships was compounded by the physical limitations imposed on them by injury in Eisler's right knee. The Seachords, Ont., nature moved a month of training and has been wearing a heavy brace since he sustained one in a goal post during a community hockey game in mid-December. Despite his limitations, Eisler skated a daring program with his dramatic 20-year-old partner from St. John's, New Brunswick, Que., winning the short program with a few 180-degree flapper routine. Because the International Skating Union dropped compulsory figures from the championships this year, these spectacular but flawed long programs were worth two-thirds of the final score—allowing the Seachords to take top spot. "That was our best effort," said Eisler. "But we know that our performance can be better."

Meanwhile, there was Canadian content in two other gold-medal performances. The innovative Dutchess sported skimming champagne. Mousa Khomani and Sergei Ponomarev of the Soviet Union with a breathtaking performance in ice dancing. The Quebec pair turned near-perfect scores in the free-dance final for their depiction of the existence led by peasants freed from the bonds of dictatorship. It was a sweet victory for a couple that reluctantly adopted the French name after falling in love in the 1980s. Said Paul Duchesne: "We always dreamed of skating for Canada—we thank God that France gave us a second chance." And U.S. star Kristi Yamaguchi, who captured the women's title, trains with Browning at the Royal Glens Club in Edinburgh.

Browning's spectacular finish and his third consecutive championship puts the spotlight on the Canine team heading into the Olympics. Their strong performances in Munich seem to indicate that Canada will medal in the outgoing ones. But even Browning said that he has not yet reached his potential. "I'm never satisfied," he said. "Artistically, I'm still growing."

DIANE BRADY with correspondence reports

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# The picks of spring

The Expos and Blue Jays have high hopes

For fans of the Toronto Blue Jays, the team's game against the Kansas City Royals in Miami last week answered a couple of burning preseason questions. First, Toronto's new second baseman, Roberto Alomar, sounded like a south-swinging Kansas City rally, driving a 3-run homer in the top of the 4th with a run on third Paul Sorrells, the Royals' shortstop, landed a blistering line drive towards right field for what looked like a sure run-scoring base hit. But Alomar, 25, leaps from his set position and, fully extended, caught the sinking ball for the third out. Then, at the bottom of the inning, right fielder Joe Carter, another new Jay, hit a solo home run over the center-field fence and into baseball's shiny Citicorp Stadium to give Toronto a 5-3 lead (it eventually won 6-5). Despite the team's poor spring training start, on the Gulf of Mexico, Alomar and Carter demonstrated their gloves and their legs why Toronto was willing to give up starting Tony Fernandez and slugger Fred McGriff to get them—and gave the 6,194 fans at Dodman Stadium reason to believe that the Blue Jays' winter of change was for the better.

Change is the key to the 1993 season hopes that the Jays, as well as the Canada's other major-league teams, the Montreal Expos. Most baseball pollsters predict that the Jays will lead ahead of the defending champion Boston Red Sox and win the American League East pennant, and Montreal is expected to contend for the National League East title against the improved Chicago Cubs. The same analysts say that last season's World Series champion, the Cincinnati Reds, will tank behind either the Los Angeles Dodgers or the San Francisco Giants in the National League West, while the Oakland Athletics, the defending American League champions, are favored to win the American League West.

Without a doubt, a flurry of trades and free-agent signings this winter, by the folks, the Blue Jays' executive vice-president, inside a team that had carried the dubious distinction of being the American League's perennial underachiever. Gone in 1991 are such longtime Blue Jays stars as Fernandez, first baseman McGriff and outfielder George Bell, the league's most notable player in 1987. In Montreal, the Expos' only trade was a big one, sending superstar Tim Lincecum, an 11-year veteran outfielder, to

the American League's Chicago White Sox for outfielder Jose Cedeño and relief pitcher Barry Jones. Three weeks before the start of the regular season, the enthusiasm of the new arrivals on both teams shed the usual infectious optimism of spring training has even



Jay infielder Rene Gonzalez and Sox: a remake team

sparked outcries of protest from Sox fans. Tom Gamble, a Mississauga, Ont., resident who has spent the past two springs visiting the Blue Jays' training camp. "Of course it's too early to tell, but don't they look great out there?"

The Blue Jays have often looked great in spring training, and they won two division titles in the 1980s. But in 1990, they were widely regarded as the best team in their division, the Blue Jays were inconsistent and lacked behind to the Red Sox. After examining his team's needs, Gallick replaced nearly one-third of his 24-man roster and engineered

what insiders regard as the biggest trade in recent baseball history—Fernandez and McGriff to the San Diego Padres for Carter and Alomar. Tim Lincecum, the team's premier relief pitcher, said last week that such new players as Carter, Alomar, relief pitcher Ken Dayley and Pat Tabler, the designated hitter, have brought renewed enthusiasm to the team. Said Henke: "It looks like we got in some new blood and got rid of the bad blood."

Meanwhile, at their Atlanta-based training center in West Palm Beach, Fla., the Expos began spring training knowing that for the first time in several seasons, some baseball analysts picked them to win their division. Last season, when they were out given much chance of winning, the Expos were in contention for the division title until the last weeks of the season. That was all the more remarkable because they played 13 more games at different times during the season. This year, manager Buck Rodgers says that he expects a stronger showing because of the additions of Cedeño and Jones, and the hoped-for improvement of such second-year starters as infielder Larry Walker and Morgan Grimes, second baseman Delino DeShields and pitcher Mark Gaudin. Walker, 24, a native of Maple Ridge, B.C., said, "We're not worried about my sophomore jinx. We will only get better after having another year under our belts."

Rodgers will need his September to make quickly because he may have two or three inexperienced pitchers in his 1993 five-man starting rotation. After Gaudin and veterans Dennis Martinez and Dennis O'Leary, Rodgers must choose among Chris Nabholz, who started 11 games in 1990, and rookies Jesus Batista and Howard Farmer to be his starters.

One corner pitcher the Expos surely invest is Denis Boucher from Lachine, Que., who is among several hopefuls trying for Toronto's fifth spot in the starting rotation. Boucher, 25, won 15 games with Class A Dunedin and AAA Syracuse in 1990, and so far the Jays have turned down trade offers from the Expos for the promising left-hander, who did not allow any earned runs in the two matchups of his first appearance for Toronto last week. As a result, while spring training progresses under the hot Florida sun, Boucher still has a chance of making it to the big leagues—and Blue Jays and Expos fans can all believe that their teams have a real chance to make the World Series.

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THINKING BEYOND TODAY

## MEDIA WATCH



## The chill of a media apology

BY GEORGE BAIN

Three years and three months after *Toronto Life* published "The Ruchman-Ruchmans: The United Story," the legal struggle that followed came to an end—in an out-of-court settlement and a full-page statement by the magazine, the first item in the March issue, of an instruction and apology. Forget that the Ruchman family and the family firm, Olympia & York, had spent, sending a beleaguering \$100 million in damages for defamation. Forget that the magazine, "at the request of the family and Olympia & York," would make "substantial donations" to four institutions. The very thought of having to put one's name to such an apology would be enough to give most writers, editors and publishers the cold sweats.

The article, it said, incorporated many allegations and accusations about the Ruchman family which "we [the magazine] intended to read and believed" had been thoroughly checked. "...there was no reasonable basis for the claim," it was stated that "none of the allegations and accusations should ever have been made." More than that, the statement said that mistakes were made in writing, editing and presentation, and that "we should have been much more rigorous in fact-checking and more precise in our wordings," and that "any and all negative imputations and allegations in the article...are totally false." Finally, the magazine said that it sincerely regretted having published what in any way could have undermined the available reputation of the Ruchman family. The statement was signed by Michael de Pencier, Elaine Dewar, Mary de Villiers, Stephen Thompson—respectively, president of Toronto Life Publishing Co., writer, editor and managing editor.

It is true: allegations raised by court records in the millions, or, in this case, the enormity of accepting public "handcuffs" in exchange of nine a week that the term "libel chill" comes. It implies that fear of legal action may cause stories that ought to be told in the public interest not to be told. Because the libel

case—that can be deadly even mainly with wealthy corporations or prominent individuals, with correspondingly large sums demanded, libel insurance is common nowadays. But it is no means guarantees peace of mind. *Toronto Life* had \$1 million worth of libel insurance, it was not last summer.

One of the arguments that media people make when libel chill is discussed is that, in order for the media department in a libel action to win the defence of truth—the surest chance it may be prepared to prove truth, instead, the onus should be on the party claiming to have been defamed to prove that what was said was not true. In an affidavit given as the cause of another libel action, in 1987, Thomas Hart, chairman of the 1980-1981 Royal Commission on Newspapers, and the the protection of certain fundamental freedoms in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms logically demanded that the onus be reversed.

"The guarantee of freedom of expression," he said, "should not cut across any expression of information, whatever its effects on society and individuals. But it is not a guarantee unless it means that the presumption about any particular expression is that it is legitimate.... The burden of proof must always rest with the

person who claims that what was expressed should not have been." "Just went on to say that this would in no way diminish the obligation to be accurate. Precision for defamation, in fact, were 'an important incentive to care for accuracy and for reasonable honesty of comment.'"

The necessity of undoing the so-called reverse-onus provision in the law of defamation is a heavily based media argument. Another that is common with impunity from court orders to disclose sources or to surrender such working materials as notebooks or tapes. Still another argument frequently advanced is that the media are uniquely at hand before the law. Once a writ is issued compelling a defendant to sue, the media are effectively engaged under an that subject matter is concerned and are put to the expensive necessity of preparing a defence in a suit that may never be pressed to conclusion. To all of that, there is—so might be expected—another side.

For a start, while the Reichman and the Conrad Black as litigants may strike fear in the stomach of media-congregation hearts—a naturalistic trait not easily laughed off—it is also true that, on the other side of the fence, even reasonably well-heeled individuals may feel their backs before suing, say, a *Toronto Star*, as the case. The law may not serve the rich and the poor equally because of the cost of going to the law, but not all the media are poor.

The second argument—for non-disclosure of sources—confronts strong support among media people who say that news gathering will be handicapped if reporters may not interview and use information without consent. The other side of the coin says that reporters, in dealing with sources, should enjoy no privilege—that the choice for them should be the same as for all others, between breaking a promise, if a promise of confidentiality was given, or of refusing—and accepting the consequences.

The most difficult argument to feel sure about is the one on the uniformity of regarding the side carrying freedom of expression to prove truth. Clearly, the charter's guarantee of freedom of expression, and of the press, means something. But, on the other side, there is something contrary in the (discretion) offered by a broadcast journalist, again in an affidavit, of what constituted, to him, a "chill effect." He had reported a story about misfeasance of a Canadian government agency and government and nuclear secrets because it had not been possible to determine if the information supplied was "disinformation" advanced by the CIA. That explicitly acknowledged that the story might be based on deliberate fabrication.

But what that seemed to say was that the story, possibly harmful to some of the government, would have come first but for the self-censorship of proving truth.

When sufficient cases have been decided in light of the freedom-of-expression clause in the 1982 Charter, a rule will emerge. Meanwhile, if we, the media, are as the business of attaining information purported to be true, and of comment purported to be honest seems best, it is worth a thought to the wisdom of our upholding the idea that our truths are good—subject always to challenge.







The Turtles: slapstick fighters and roadkillers in a rapeseptic chemo line

## Cowabunga, dudes

The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles are back

TEENAGE MUTANT NINJA TURTLES II:  
THE SECRET OF THE OOZE  
Directed by Michael Pressman

**T**hey climbed from the sewers of New York City into the hearts of millions. Like the Beatles, these are four of them, and they are cute, fuzzy and funny. Hatched as comic-book characters in 1984, they established a sensation with the release of their first movie last spring. *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*. It earned \$566 million in North America theaters, a record for an independently produced film. Now, the green-back heroes as a half-shed have returned. And, reversing the usual pattern for a sequel, *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles II: The Secret of the Ooze*, smarter and more entertaining than the original. Once again, it offers plenty of martial-arts mayhem, but the violence links the savvy edge that it had in the first movie. The film-makers have even added an ecological subplot: the "secret ooze" is toxic waste.

Despite the success of the first movie, many parents complained that it was too violent for its target audience of small children. Discounting the sequel, David Chase, the Los Angeles producer of both movies, said to us in a weary last week: "We made the violence more unreal, more comic and seriocomic." But, he added, "With Ninja Turtles being ninja turtles, we couldn't really change their nature—they have to fight because that's what they are."

The sequel elevates Casey Jones, a sidekick ally of the Turtles who was a goalie mask and baseball bat warrior with a hockey stick. "We got a lot of comments that he came across like Jason of *Friday the 13th*," said Chase. The racial epithets—*Machugangula*, *Laumonda*, *Donatello* and *Magwell*—were up instead with *Kimo*, a puna delivery boy played by film-lessons expert Ernie Reyes Jr. Most of the other elements, however, are familiar. The Turtles are still devouring pizza and acting like sweetly irresponsible teenagers. April (Phoebe Tonino), a teenage TV reporter, is still serving as their den mother. Splinter, the philosophical rat, remains as their Zen master. And the Turtles are still at war with an *Evangelion*-inspired conspiracy called the Foot Clan. Even the Darth Vader-like villain, Shredder (Francesca Chiari), is back. Praised dead after being barrelled in garbage at the end of the first movie, he crawls out of a landfill.

The plot involves a chemical company that is trying to dispose of a green chemical, "ooze." It turns out to be the same stuff that spilled on the dear baby turtles 12 years ago and gave them their super powers. Shredder's thugs confiscate the last canister of the ooze from the company's laboratory and lockup its scientist, Paul Perry (David Warner). Back at the gang's junkyard hideout, Shredder orders Perry to apply the chemical to a missing turtle—and a wolf, which grow into mutant monsters—and are trained as gladiators to combat the Turtles.

The fight scenes are well-choreographed displays of slapstick precision. Owing as much to the Marx Brothers as to the martial arts, the Turtles seem to be vaudeville acts at heart. And they hit their stunts as the classic battle spills over into a crowded dance club, where the Turtles form a dance line onstage with pop star Vanilla Ice.

Brought to life for the big screen by animatronics designers at Jim Henson's Creature Shop, each character requires the talents of an actor speaking his lines, a puppeteer and a stuntman in a turtle suit. Gaudy costumes, the Neo-Turtles are, in effect, extensions of the media. Their new movie is a pop-culture pastiche, mixing martial arts, rap music, moderate attitude and state-of-the-art slugs. Like Vanilla Ice, the glimmer king of urban rap, the Turtles celebrate the debauchery of the black ghetto. The filmmakers have even worked in the anti-chaining salute and caught their made famous on *Arrested*. Hall's TV talk show late-night television meets Saturday morning cartoons.

Teenage culture has taken over children's entertainment. Like TV cartoon delinquents Bart Simpson, the Turtles seduce a preteen audience with an adolescent ethic of hedonism. Children master the art of teenage superiority before learning to read. It is the new world order of cool dudes. The Turtles rule. Cowabunga.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

## Maclean's

### BEST-SELLING LIST

#### FICTION

- 1 *Poisonous*, Dyer (2)
- 2 *The Sound of Shoppers*, Broke
- 3 *Maclean's*, Stein (6)
- 4 *The Old-Governmentals*, Groulx (9)
- 5 *The Secret Pilgrims*, & Carr (17)
- 6 *Romeo and Juliet*, Hume (18)
- 7 *Knives and a Knife*, Johnston (2)
- 8 *The Stone of the Lovers*, Almond (2)
- 9 *The Eagle Hunt*, Hume (17)
- 10 *Police of Death*, Maclean's

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *Iron John*, Jay (12)
- 2 *The Price*, Jay (12)
- 3 *Harmonization*, Anand (2)
- 4 *Work with Power*, Fry (25)
- 5 *A Life on the Edge*, Fry (25)
- 6 *Evolution and Our Times*, Cleland and McGill (2)
- 7 *Julius & Ethel*, Maitland (18)
- 8 *Blackbirds and Philip*, Ripstein and Wright (18)
- 9 *New Year Don't Understand: Talk Between the Sheets*, Tatum
- 10 *Perfection*, Bell (2)

11 *Politics*, Bell (2)

Compiled by Susan Ferguson



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# The TROCs are mad—and mumbling

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Monsieur Dr. Foth, it certainly is great to keep me up again.

Excellent, with specificities the pharmaceutical conglomerate of confusion in the upper reaches of your cerebral cortex.

Well, yes, I'm extremely confused by all this fuss over the Alliance report on Quebec.

You know, of course, what they call that report in Quebec?

No.

It's known, from Beauséjour to Vancouver Island, with one provincial exception, as the *Alliance report*.

Get around. We're talking about the demise of our country here.

I've never been more serious. You know what our country is now known as?

No.

It's known as The Rest of Canada. TROC. Residents of this Bangladesh-like mainland are now known as TROCs. You'll recognize them by the rampant look on their forebrows and their tribal signal.

I hesitate to ask, but what is the signal?

A thug.

Get serious.

Never been more serious in my life. You know, of course, what the *Steele* guy said about the prospect of Quebec seceding?

Of course I'm watching into his eye. What did he say?

He said that he didn't want it. Quebec separated. It would mean that I would take only half the time to drive to Toronto.

That is ridiculous. Are you going to be serious?

This happens to be the most serious forum in Canada. And it doesn't cost \$600 a day. We must be serious and poised better.

Okay, now say what's your interest?

The Alliance is playing it. It is the all-purpose Canadian solution to all problems.

Excuse me?

Multiple slough. Delay. Drag. When in charge, delegate. When in doubt, dawdle. When in trouble, mumble.

You're mumbing. What do you really think is going to happen?



Everything and nothing. Unacceptable. Canadians, because nothing exciting ever happens to them, get excited when their seasonal problems get on the front page of *The New York Times*.

There's no reason to get excited? Come on, Ladies. There's a tiny island that Quebec can be saved all and lost out to us. There isn't going to be a gun at the border. We won't have to show a passport. We'll take the not going to be a different currency, for God's sake.

So you're realizing that Quebec is going to separate.

Not at all. Quebec is going to split into a different mode, a European/German/Mexican style of arrangement. The world is not going to come to an end, as some editorial writers seem to think.

How do you know this?

Because we rely on Robert Bourassa,

the First Avenue of Canadian politics.

You don't respect him?

Of course we respect him. He talks with the groins of the business.

You mean Lester? MacDonald?

No, I mean Max Baerley, Bill Cowley and Hans Richard. This guy is the finest skier ever to lace on the blades since Bette Midler.

How do you know that?

The night before Jean Lévesque walked out of the 1987 Quebec Liberal party convention because Jean Lévesque would not accept his separation resolution, Lévesque's supporters drove up the working in the basement of Bourassa's house, the owner of the house being one of them. They thought, understandably, the owner was with them but he changed his mind the next morning. This is a quake-chance arrest.

So you don't think the world is going to come to an end by the end of 1992 with a democratic referendum on that delightful word seceding?

No more than I think Bess is alive.

OK, court art what's going to happen?

What everyone forgets is that elections are going to happen before this supposed Arrangement of late 1991 in Quebec with a referendum. The vote is going to come into power in both Saskatchewan and British Columbia this year and, considering Premier Robt is rightly Ontario, this is going to put the Red Hodge in transition national way.

And how will this transition nationally?

It will mean that in the next federal election, which could very well come before Arrangement, Audrey McLaughlin is going to win the most seats.

Zings. So we'll have our first female prime minister?

No.

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*Robert Radlach  
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